Serfojee Rajah. 1827

THE

WHOLE GENUINE WORKS

OF

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS,

THE LEARNED AND AUTHENTIC JEWISH HISTORIAN, AND CELEBRATED WARRIOR:

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL GREEK,

ACCORDING TO

HAVERCAMP'S ACCURATE EDITION.

CONTAINING,

I. Twenty Books of the JEWISH ANTIQUITIES; with the LIFE of JOSEPHUS, written by himself.
II. Seven Books of the JEWISH WAR.
III. Two Books against Apion.
IV. An Extract out of JOSEPHUS' Exhortation to the GREEKS, concerning HADES, and the Resurrection of the Dead.

TOGETHER WITH

LARGE NOTES, PROPER OBSERVATIONS, AND AN INDEX.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

THREE DISSERTATIONS,

CONCERNING,

I. The Testimonies of JOSEPHUS vindicated.
II. GOD'S command to Abraham to offer up Isaac, his Son, for a Sacrifice.
III. TACITUS' Account of the Origin of the JEWISH NATION, and of the Particulars of the last JEWISH WAR.

WITH A COMPLETE TABLE OF THE JEWISH COINS, WEIGHTS, AND MEASURES.

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IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

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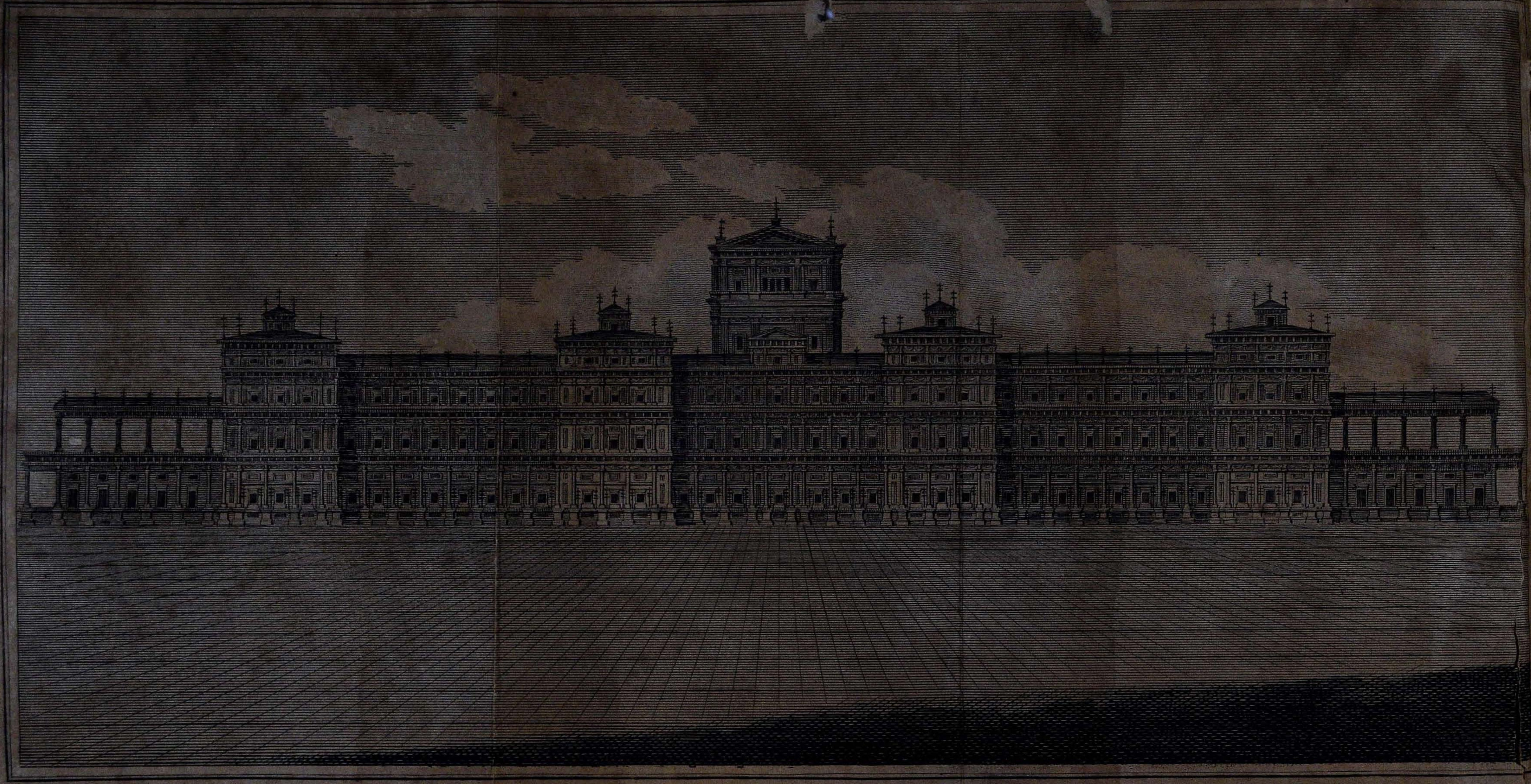

AN EXACT REPRESENTATION OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE

WARS OF THE JEWS;

OR,

THE HISTORY

OF THE

DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

BOOK III.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ABOUT ONE YEAR.

[FROM VESPASIAN'S COMING TO SUBDUE THE JEWS, TO THE TAKING OF GAMALA.]

CHAP. I.

Vespasian is sent into Syria by Nero, in order to make war with the Jews.

§ 1. When Nero was informed of the Romans' ill success in Judea, a concealed consternation and terror, as is usual in such cases, fell upon him; although he openly looked very big, and was very angry, and said that what had happened was rather owing to the negligence of the commander, than to any valour of the enemy: and as he thought it fit for him, who bare the burden of the whole empire, to despise such misfortunes, he now pretended so to do, and to have a soul superior to all such sad accidents whatsoever. Yet did the disturbance that was in his soul plainly appear by the solicitude he was in [how to recover his affairs again].

2. And as he was deliberating to whom he should commit the care of the east, now it was in so great a commotion, and who might be the best able to punish the Jews for their rebellion, and might prevent the same distemper from seizing upon the neighbouring nations also; he found no one but Vespasian equal to the task, and able to undergo the great burden of so mighty a war, seeing he was growing an old man already in the camp, and from his youth had been exercised in warlike exploits: he

was also a man that had long ago pacified the west, and made it subject to the Romans, when it had been put into disorder by the Germans; he had also recovered to them Britain by his arms, which had been little known before *; whereby he procured to his father Claudius to have a triumph bestowed on him without any sweat or labour of his own.

3. So Nero esteemed these circumstances as favourable omens, and saw that Vespasian's age gave him sure experience, and great skill, and that he had his sons as hostages for his fidelity to himself, and that the flourishing age they were in would make them fit instruments under their father's prudence. Perhaps also there was some interposition of Providence, which was paving the way for Vespasian's being himself emperor afterwards. Upon the whole, he sent this man to take upon him the command of the armies that were in Syria; but this not without great encomiums and flattering compellations, such as nesessity required, and such as might mollify him into complaisance. So Vespasian sent his son Titus from Achaia, where he had been with Nero, to Alexandria, to bring back with him from thence the fifth and the tenth legions, while he himself, when he had passed over the Hellespont, came by land into Syria, where he gathered together the Roman forces, with a considerable number of auxiliaries from the kings in that neighbourhood.

CHAP. II.

A great slaughter of the Jews about Ascalon. Vespasian comes to Ptolemais.

§ 1. Now the Jews, after they had beaten Cestius, were so much elevated with their unexpected success, that they could not govern their zeal, but like people blown up into a flame by their good fortune, carried the war to remote places. Accordingly they presently got together a great multitude of all their most hardy soldiers, and marched away for Ascalon. This is an ancient city that is distant from Jerusalem five hundred and twenty furlongs, and was always an enemy to the

* Take the confirmation of this in the words of Suetonius, here produced by Dr. Hudson. "In the reign of Claudius," says he, "Vespasian, for the sake of Nar-"cissus, was sent as the lieutenant of a legion into Germany. Thence he removed "into Britain, and fought thirty battles with the enemy." In Vesp. § 4. We may also here note from Josephus, that Claudius the emperor, who triumphed for the conquest of Britain, was enabled so to do by Vespasian's conduct and bravery, and that he is here styled "the father of Vespasian."

Jews; on which account they determined to make their first effort against it, and to make their approaches to it as near as possible. This excursion was led on by three men, who were the chief of them all, both for strength and sagacity, Niger called the *Peraite*, Silas of Babylon, and besides them John the Essene. Now Ascalon was strongly walled about, but had almost no assistance to be relied on [near them,] for the garrison consisted of one cohort of footmen, and one troop of horsemen, whose captain was Antonius.

2. These Jews, therefore, out of their anger, marched faster than ordinary, and, as if they had come, but a little way, approached very near the city, and were come even to it; but Antonius, who was not unapprised of the attack they were going to make upon the city, drew out his horsemen before-hand, and being neither daunted at the multitude, nor at the courage of the enemy, received their first attacks with great bravery: and when they crowded to the very walls, he beat them off. Now the Jews were unskilful in war, but were to fight with those that were skilful therein; they were footmen to fight with horsemen; they were in disorder, to fight those that were united together; they were poorly armed to fight those that were completely so; they were to fight more by their rage than by sober counsel, and were exposed to soldiers that were exactly obedient, and did every thing they were bidden upon the least intimation. So they were easily beaten; for as soon as ever their first ranks were once in disorder, they were put to flight by the enemy's cavalry, and those of them that came behind such as crowded to the wall, fell upon their own party's weapons, and became one another's enemies; and this so long till they were all forced to give way to the attacks of the horsemen, and were dispersed all the plain over, which plain was wide, and all fit for the horsemen; which circumstance was very commodious for the Romans, and occasioned the slaughter of the greatest number of the Jews; for such as ran away, they could over-run them, and make them turn back; and when they had brought them back after their flight, and driven them together, they ran them through, and slew a vast number of them, insomuch that others encompassed others of them, and drove them before them whithersoever they turned themselves, and slew them easily with their arrows; and the great number there were of the Jews seemed a solitude to themselves, by reason of the distress they were in, while the Romans had such good success with their small number, that they seemed to themselves to be the greater multitude. And as the former strove zealously under their misfortunes, out of the shame of a sudden flight, and hopes of the change in their success, so did

the latter feel no weariness by reason of their good fortune; insomuch that the fight lasted till the evening, till ten thousand men of the Jews side lay dead, with two of their generals, John and Silas, and the greater part of the remainder were wounded, with Niger, their remaining general, who fled away together to a small city of Idumea, called *Sallis;* some few also of the Romans were wounded in this battle.

3. Yet were not the spirits of the Jews broken by so great a calamity, but the losses they had sustained rather quickened their resolution for other attempts; for, overlooking the dead bodies which lay under their feet, they were enticed by their former glorious actions to venture on a second destruction; so when they had lain still so little a while that their wounds were not yet thoroughly cured, they got together all their forces, and came with greater fury, and in much greater numbers to Ascalon. But their former ill fortune followed them, as the consequence of their unskilfulness, and other deficiencies in war; for Antonius laid ambushes for them in the passages they were to go through, where they fell into snares unexpectedly, and where they were compassed about with horsemen, before they could form themselves into a regular body for fighting, and were above eight thousand of them slain: so all the rest of them ran away, and with them Niger, who still did a great many bold exploits in his flight. However, they were driven along together by the enemy, who pressed hard upon them, into a certain strong tower belonging to a village called *Bezedel.* However, Antonius and his party, that they might neither spend any considerable time about this tower, which was hard to be taken, nor suffer their commander, and the most courageous man of them all, to escape from them, they set the wall on fire; and as the tower was burning, the Romans went away rejoicing, as taking it for granted that Niger was destroyed; but he leaped out of the tower into a subterraneous cave, in the innermost part of it, and was preserved; and on the third day afterward he spake out of the ground to those that with great lamentation were searching for him, in order to give him a decent funeral; and when he was come out, he filled all the Jews with an unexpected joy, as though he were preserved by God's providence to be their commander for the time to come.

4. And now Vespasian took along with him his army from Antioch (which is the metropolis of Syria, and without dispute deserves the place of the * third city in the habitable earth

* Spanheim and Reland both agree, that the two cities here esteemed greater than Antioch, the metropolis of Syria, were Rome and Alexandria; nor is there any occasion for doubt in so plain a case.

that was under the Roman empire, both in magnitude, and other marks of prosperity), where he found king Agrippa, with all his forces, waiting for his coming, and marched to Ptolemais. At this city also the inhabitants of Sepphoris of Galilee met him, who were for peace with the Romans. These citizens had before-hand taken care of their own safety, and being sensible of the power of the Romans, they had been with Cestius Gallus, before Vespasian came, and had given their faith to him, and received the security of his right hand, and had received a Roman garrison; and at this time withal they received Vespasian, the Roman general very kindly, and readily promised that they would assist him against their own countrymen. Now the general delivered them at their desire, as many horsemen and footmen as he thought sufficient to oppose the incursions of the Jews, if they should come against them. And indeed the danger of losing Sepphoris would be no small one, in this war that was now beginning, seeing it was the largest city of Galilee, and built in a place by nature very strong, and might be a security of the whole nation's [fidelity to the Romans].

CHAP. III.

A description of Galilee, Samaria, and Judea.

§ 1. Now Phenicia and Syria encompass about the Galilees, which are two, and called the *Upper Galilee*, and the *Lower*. They are bounded towards the sun-setting, with the borders of the territory belonging to Ptolemais, and by Carmel; which mountain had formerly belonged to the Galileans, but now belonged to the Tyrians, to which mountain adjoins Gaba, which is called "the city of horsemen," because those horsemen that were dismissed by Herod the king dwelt therein; they are bounded on the south with Samaria and Scythopolis; as far as the river Jordan; on the east with Hippene and Gadaris, and also with Gaulonitis, and the borders of the kingdom of Agrippa, its northern parts are bounded by Tyre, and the country of the Tyrians. As for that Galilee which is called the Lower, it extends in length from Tiberias to Zabulon, and of the maritime places Ptolemais is its neighbour; its breadth is from the village called Xaloth, which lies in the great plain, as far as Bersabe, from which beginning also is taken the breadth of the Upper Galilee, as far as the village Baca, which divides the land of the Tyrians from it; its length is also from Meloth to Thella, a village near to Jordan.

2. These two Galilees, of so great largeness, and encompassed with so many nations of foreigners, have been always able

to make a strong resistance on all occasions of war; for the Galileans are inured to war from their infancy, and have been always very numerous; nor hath the country been ever destitute of men of courage, or wanted a numerous set of them: for their soil is universally rich and fruitful, and full of the plantations of trees of all sorts, insomuch, that it invites the most slothful to take pains in its cultivation, by its fruitfulness: accordingly it is all cultivated by its inhabitants, and no part of it lies idle. Moreover the cities lie here very thick, and the very many villages there are here, are every where so full of people, by the richness of their soil, that the very least of them contained above fifteen thousand inhabitants.

3. In short, if any one will suppose that Galilee is inferior to Perea in magnitude, he will be obliged to prefer it before it in its strength: for this is all capable of cultivation, and is every where fruitful; but for Perea, which is indeed much larger in extent, the greater part of it is desert and rough, and much less disposed for the production of the milder kinds of fruits; yet hath it a moist soil [in other parts], and produces all kinds of fruits, and its plains are planted with trees of all sorts, while yet the olive tree, the vine, and the palm tree, are chiefly cultivated there. It is also sufficiently watered with torrents, which issue out of the mountains, and with springs that never fail to run, even when the torrents fail them, as they do in the dog-days. Now the length of Perea is from Macherus to Pella, and its breadth from Philadelphia to Jordan: its northern parts are bounded by Pella, as we have already said, as well as its western with Jordan; the land of Moab is its southern border, and its eastern limits reach to Arabia, and Silbonitis, and besides to Philadelphine and Gerasa.

4. Now, as to the country of Samaria, it lies between Judea and Galilee; it begins in a village that is in the great plain called *Ginea*, and ends at the Acrabbene toparchy, and is entirely of the same nature with Judea; for both countries are made up of hills and vallies, and are moist enough for agriculture, and are very fruitful. They have abundance of trees, and are full of autumnal fruit, both that which grows wild, and that which is the effect of cultivation. They are not naturally watered by many rivers, but derive their chief moisture from rain water, of which they have no want; and for those rivers which they have, all their waters are exceeding sweet: by reason also of the excellent grass they have, their cattle yield more milk than do those in other places; and, what is the greatest sign of excellency, and of abundance, they each of them are very full of people.

5. In the limits of Samaria and Judea lies the village Anuath,

which is also named *Borceos.* This is the northern boundary of Judea. The southern parts of Judea, if they be measured lengthways, are bounded by a village adjoining to the confines of Arabia; the Jews that dwell there call it *Jordan.* However, its breadth is extended from the river Jordan to Joppa. The city Jerusalem is situated in the very middle; on which account some have, with sagacity enough, called that city the *navel* of the country. Nor indeed is Judea destitute of such delights as come from the sea, since its maritime places extend as far as Ptolemais; it was parted in eleven portions, of which the royal city Jerusalem was the supreme, and presided over all the neighbouring country, as the head does over the body. As to the other cities that were inferior to it, they presided over their several toparchies; Gophna was the second of those cities, and next to that Acrabatta, after them Thamna, and Lydda, and Emmaus, and Pella, and Idumea, and Engaddi, and Herodium, and Jericho; and after them came Jamnia and Joppa, as presiding over the neighbouring people: and besides these there was the region of Gamala, and Gaulonitis, and Batanea, and Trachonitis, which are also parts of the kingdom of Agrippa. This [last] country begins at mount Libanus, and the fountains of Jordan, and reaches breadthways to the lake of Tiberias; and in length is extended from a village called Arpha, as far as Julias. Its inhabitants are a mixture of Jews and Syrians. And thus have I, with all possible brevity, described the country of Judea, and those that lie round about it.

CHAP. IV.

Josephus makes an attempt upon Sepphoris, but is repelled. Titus comes with a great army to Ptolemais.

§ 1. Now the auxiliaries which were sent to assist the people of Sepphoris, being a thousand horsemen, and six thousand footmen, under Placidus the tribune, pitched their camp in two bodies in the great plain. The foot were put into the city to be a guard to it, but the horse lodged abroad in the camp. These last, by marching continually one way or other, and over-running the parts of the adjoining country, were very troublesome to Josephus and his men; they also plundered all the places that were out of the city's liberty, and intercepted such as durst go abroad. On this account it was that Josephus marched against the city, as hoping to take what he had lately encompassed with a strong wall, before they revolted from the rest of the Galileans, that the Romans would have had much ado to take it: by which means he proved too weak, and

failed of his hopes, both as to the forcing the place, and as to his prevailing with the people of Sepphoris to deliver it up to him. By this means he provoked the Romans to treat the country according to the law of war; nor did the Romans, out of the anger they bore at this attempt, leave off either by night or by day, burning the places in the plain, and stealing away the cattle that were in the country, and killing whatsoever appeared capable of fighting perpetually, and leading the weaker people as slaves into captivity; so that Galilee was all over filled with fire and blood; nor was it exempted from any kind of misery and calamity, for the only refuge they had was this, that when they were pursued, they could retire to the cities which had walls built them by Josephus.

2. But as to Titus, he sailed over from Achaia to Alexandria, and that sooner than the winter season did usually permit; so he took with him those forces he was sent for, and marching with great expedition, he came suddenly to Ptolemais, and there finding his father, together with the two legions, the fifth and the tenth, which were the most eminent legions of all, he joined them to that fifteenth legion which was with his father: eighteen cohorts followed these legions; there came also five cohorts from Cesarea, with one troop of horsemen, and five other troops of horsemen from Syria. Now these ten cohorts had severally a thousand footmen, but the other thirteen cohorts had no more than six hundred footmen a-piece, and an hundred and twenty horsemen. There were also a considerable number of auxiliaries got together, that came from the Kings Antiochus and Agrippa, and Sohemus, each of them contributing one thousand footmen that were archers, and a thousand horsemen. Malchus, also, the King of Arabia, sent a thousand horsemen, besides five thousand footmen, the greatest part of which were archers; so that the whole army, including the auxiliaries sent by the kings, as well horsemen as footmen, when all were united together, amounted to sixty thousand, besides the servants, who, as they followed in vast numbers, so because they had been trained up in war with the rest, ought not to be distinguished from the fighting men; for as they were in the master's service in times of peace, so did they undergo the like dangers with them in times of war, insomuch that they were inferior to none, either in skill or in strength, only they were subject to their masters.

CHAP. V.

A description of the Roman armies, and Roman camps; and of other particulars, for which the Romans are commended.

§ 1. Now here one cannot but admire at the precaution of the Romans, in providing themselves of such household servants, as might not only serve at other times for the common offices of life, but might also be of advantage to them in their wars. And, indeed, if any one does but attend to the other parts of their military discipline, he will be forced to confess, that their obtaining so large a dominion, hath been the acquisition of their valour, and not the bare gift of fortune: for they do not begin to use their weapons first in time of war, nor do they then put their hands first into motion, while they avoided so to do in times of peace; but, as if their weapons did always cling to them, they have never any truce from warlike exercises; nor do they stay till times of war admonish them to use them; for their military exercises differ not at all from the real use of their arms, but every soldier is every day exercised, and that with real diligence, as if it were in time of war, which is the reason why they bear the fatigue of battles so easily; for neither can any disorder remove them from their usual regularity, nor can fear affright them out of it, nor can labour tire them: which firmness of conduct makes them always to overcome those that have not the same firmness; nor would he be mistaken that would call those their exercises unbloody battles, and their battles bloody exercises. Nor can their enemies easily surprise them with the suddenness of their incursions; for as soon as they have marched into an enemy's land, they do not begin to fight till they have walled their camp about; nor is the fence they raise rashly made, or uneven; nor do they all abide in it, nor do those that are in it take their places at random; but if it happens that the ground is uneven, it is first levelled: their camp is also four square by measure, and carpenters are ready, in great numbers, with their tools, to erect their buildings for them.*

* This description of the exact symmetry and regularity of the Roman army, and of the Roman encampments, with the sounding their trumpets, &c. and order of war, described in this and the next chapter, is so very like to the symmetry and regularity of the people of Israel in the wilderness, (see description of the temples, ch. ix.) that one cannot well avoid the supposal, that the one was the ultimate pattern of the other, and that the tactics of the ancients were taken from the rules given by God to Moses. And it is thought by some skilful in these matters, that these accounts of Josephus, as to the Roman camp and armour, and conduct in war, are preferable to those in the Roman authors themselves.

2. As for what is within the camp, it is set apart for tents, but the outward circumference hath the resemblance to a wall, and is adorned with towers at equal distances, where between the towers stand the engines for throwing arrows, and darts; and for slinging stones, and where they lay all other engines that can annoy the enemy, all ready for their several operations. They also erect four gates, one at every side of the circumference, and those large enough for the entrance of the beasts, and wide enough for making excursions, if occasion should require. They divide the camp within into streets, very conveniently, and place the tents of the commanders in the middle, but in the very midst of all is the general's own tent, in the nature of a temple, insomuch that it appears to be a city built on the sudden; with its market place, and place for handicraft trades, and with seats for the officers, superior and inferior, where, if any differences arise, their causes are heard and determined. The camp, and all that is in it, is encompassed with a wall round about, and that sooner than one would imagine, and this by the multitude and the skill of the labourers; and, if occasion require, a trench is drawn round the whole, whose depth is four cubits, and its breadth equal.

3. When they have thus secured themselves, they live together by companies, with quietness and decency, as are all their other affairs managed with good order and security. Each company hath also their wood, and their corn, and their water brought them, when they stand in need of them; for they neither sup nor dine as they please themselves singly, but all together. Their times also for sleeping, and watching, and rising, are notified before-hand by the sound of trumpets, nor is any thing done without such a signal; and in the morning the soldiery go every one to their centurions, and these centurions to their tribunes, to salute them; with whom all the superior officers go to the general of the whole army, who then gives them of course the watch-word and other orders, to be by them carried to all that are under their command; which is also observed when they go to fight, and thereby they turn themselves about on the sudden when there is occasion for making sallies, as they come back when they are recalled in crowds also.

4. Now when they are to go out of their camp, the trumpet gives a sound, at which time nobody lies still, but at the first intimation they take down their tents, and all is made ready for their going out; then do the trumpets sound again, to order them to get ready for the march; then do they lay their baggage suddenly upon their mules, and other beasts of burthen, and stand, as at the place of starting, ready to march; when also they set fire to their camp, and this they do because

it will be easy for them to erect another camp, and that it may not ever be of use to their enemies. Then do the trumpets give a sound the third time, that they are to go out, in order to excite those that on any account are a little tardy, that so no one may be out of his rank when the army marches. Then does the crier stand at the general's right hand, and asks them thrice in their own tongue, whither they be now ready to go out to war or not? To which they reply as often, with a loud and cheerful voice, saying, We are ready. And this they do almost before the question is asked them: they do this as filled with a kind of martial fury, and at the same time that they cry out, they lift up their right hands also.

5. When, after this, they are gone out of their camp, they all march without noise, and in a decent manner, and every one keeps his own rank, as if they were going to war. The footmen are armed with breast-plates, and head-pieces, and have swords on each side, but the sword which is upon their left side is much longer than the other, for that on the right side is not longer than a span. Those footmen also that are chosen out from the rest to be about the general himself, have a lance and a buckler, but the rest of the foot soldiers, have a spear, and a long buckler, besides a saw and a basket, a pickaxe, and an axe, a thong of leather, and a hook, with provisions for three days, so that a footmen hath no great need of a mule to carry his burthens. The horsemen have a long sword on their right sides, and a long pole in their hand; a shield also lies by them obliquely on one side of their horses with three or more darts that are borne in their quiver, having broad points, and not smaller than spears. They have also head-pieces, and breast-plates, in like manner as have all the footmen. And for those that are chosen to be about the general, their armour no way differs from that of the horsemen belonging to other troops; and he always leads the legions forth to whom the lot assigns that employment.

6. This is the manner of the marching and resting of the Romans, as also these are the several sorts of weapons they use. But when they are to fight, they leave nothing without forecast, nor to be done off hand, but counsel is ever first taken before any work is begun, and what hath been there resolved upon is put in execution presently; for which reason they seldom commit any errors, and if they have been mistaken at any time, they easily correct those mistakes. They also esteem any errors they commit upon taking counsel before-hand, to be better than such rash success as is owing to fortune only; because such a fortuitous advantage tempts them to be inconsiderate, while consultation, though it may sometimes fail of success,

hath this good in it, that it makes men more careful hereafter; but for the advantages that arise from chance, they are not owing to him that gains them; and as to what melancholy accidents happen unexpectedly, there is this comfort in them, that they had however taken the best consultations they could to prevent them.

7. Now they so manage their preparatory exercises of their weapons, that not the bodies of the soldiers only, but their souls may also become stronger; they are moreover hardened for war by fear, for their laws inflict capital punishments, not only for soldiers running away from their ranks, but for slothfulness and inactivity, though it be but in a lesser degree; as are their generals more severe than their laws, for they prevent any imputation of cruelty toward those under condemnation, by the great rewards they bestow on the valiant soldiers; and the readiness of obeying their commanders is so great, that it is very ornamental in peace; but when they come to a battle, the whole army is but one body, so well coupled together are their ranks, so sudden are their turnings about, so sharp their hearing, as to what orders are given them, so quick their sight of the ensigns, and so nimble are their hands when they set to work; whereby it comes to pass, that what they do is done quickly, and what they suffer they bear with the greatest patience. Nor can we find any examples where they have been conquered in battle, when they came to a close fight, either by the multitude of the enemies, or by their stratagems, or by the difficulties in the places they were in, no, nor by fortune neither, for their victories have been surer to them than fortune could have granted them. In a case, therefore, where counsel still goes before action, and where, after taking the best advice, that advice is followed by so active an army, what wonder is it that Euphrates on the east, the ocean on the west, the most fertile regions of Lybia on the south, and the Danube and the Rhine on the north, are the limits of this empire? One might well say, that the Roman possessions are inferior to the Romans themselves.

8. This account I have given the reader, not so much with the intention of commending the Romans, as of comforting those that have been conquered by them, and for the deterring others from attempting innovations under their government. This discourse of the Roman military conduct may also perhaps be of use to such of the curious as are ignorant of it, and yet have a mind to know it. I return now from this digression.

CHAP. VI.

Placidus attempts to take Jotapata, and is beaten off. Vespasian marches into Galilee.

§ 1. And now Vespasian, with his son Titus, had tarried some time at Ptolemais, and had put his army in order. But when Placidus who had over-run all Galilee, and had besides slain a number of those whom he had caught, (which were only the weaker part of the Galileans, and such as were of timorous souls), saw that the warriors ran always to those cities whose walls had been built by Josephus, he marched furiously against Jotapata, which was of them all the strongest, as supposing he should easily take it by a sudden surprise, and that he should thereby obtain great honour to himself among the commanders, and bring a great advantage to them in their future campaign; because, if this strongest place of them all were once taken, the rest would be so affrighted as to surrender themselves.—But he was mightily mistaken in his undertaking; for the men of Jotapata were apprised of his coming to attack them, and came out of the city, and expected him there. So they fought the Romans briskly when they least expected it, being both many in number, and prepared for fighting, and of great alacrity, as esteeming their country, their wives, and their children, to be in danger, and easily put the Romans to flight, and wounded many of them, and slew * seven of them; because their retreat was not made in a disorderly manner, because strokes only touched the surface of their bodies, which were covered with their armour in all parts, and because the Jews did rather throw their weapons upon them from a great distance, than venture to come hand to hand with them, and had only light armour on, while the others were completely armed. However three men of the Jews side were slain, and a few wounded; so Placidus, finding himself unable to assault the city ran away.

2. But as Vespasian had a great mind to fall upon Galilee,

* I cannot but here observe an eastern way of speaking, frequent among them, but not usual among us, where the word *only* or *alone* is not set down, but perhaps someway supplied in the pronunciation. Thus Josephus here says, that those of Jotapata slew seven of the Romans, as they were marching off, because the Roman's retreat was regular, their bodies were covered over with their armour, and the Jews fought at some distance: his meaning is clear, that these were the reasons why they slew only, or no more than seven. I have met with many the like examples in the scriptures, in Josephus, &c. but did not note down the particular places. This observation ought to be borne in mind upon many occasions.

he marched out to Ptolemais, having put his army into that order, wherein the Romans used to march. He ordered those auxiliaries which were lightly armed, and the archers to march first, that they might prevent any sudden insults from the enemy, and might search out the woods that looked suspiciously, and were capable of ambuscades. Next to these followed that part of the Romans which were completely armed, both footmen and horsemen. Next to these followed ten out of every hundred, carrying along with them their arms, and what was necessary to measure out a camp withal; and after them, such as were to make the road even, and straight, and if it were any where rough and hard to be passed over, to plain it, and to cut down the woods that hindered their march, that the army might not be in distress, or tired with their march. Behind these he set such carriages of the army as belonged both to himself and to the other commanders, with a considerable number of their horsemen for their security. After these he marched himself, having with him a select body of footmen and horsemen, and pikemen. After these came the peculiar cavalry of his own legion, for there were an hundred and twenty horsemen that peculiarly belonged to every legion. Next to these came the mules that carried the engines for sieges, and the other warlike machines of that nature. After these came the commanders of the cohorts and tribunes, having about them soldiers chosen out of the rest. Then came the ensigns encompassing the eagle, which is at the head of every Roman legion, the king and the strongest of all birds, which seems to them a signal of dominion, and an omen that they shall conquer all against whom they march; these sacred ensigns are followed by the trumpeters. Then came the main army in their squadrons, and battalions, with six men in depth, which were followed at last by a centurion, who, according to custom, observed the rest. As for the servants of every legion, they all followed the footmen, and led the baggage of the soldiers, which was borne by the mules and other beasts of burden. But behind all the legions came the whole multitude of the mercenaries; and those that brought up the rear came last of all for the security of the whole army, being both footmen, and those in their armour also, with a great number of horsemen.

3. And thus did Vespasian march with his army, and came to the bounds of Galilee, where he pitched his camp and restrained his soldiers, who were eager for war; he also shewed his army to the enemy, in order to affright them, and to afford them a season for repentance, to see whether they would change their minds before it came to a battle, and at the same time he got things ready for besieging their strong holds. And indeed

this sight of the general brought many to repent of their revolt, and put them all into a consternation; for those that were in Josephus's camp, which was the city called Garis, not far from Sepphoris, when they heard that the war was come near them, and that the Romans would suddenly fight them hand to hand, dispersed themselves, and fled, not only before they came to a battle, but before the enemy ever came in sight, while Josephus and a few others were left behind; and as he saw that he had not an army sufficient to engage the enemy, that the spirits of the Jews were sunk, and that the greater part would willingly come to terms, if they might be credited, he already despaired of the success of the whole war, and determined to get as far as he possibly could get out of danger; so he took those that staid along with him, and fled to Tiberias.

CHAP. VII.

Vespasian, when he had taken the city Gadara, marches to Jotapata. After a long siege, the city is betrayed by a deserter, and taken by Vespasian.

§ 1. So Vespasian marched to the city Gadara, and took it upon the first onset, because he found it destitute of any considerable number of men grown up and fit for war. He came then into it, and slew all the youth, the Romans having no mercy on any age whatsoever; and this was done out of the hatred they bore the nation, and because of the iniquity they had been guilty of in the affair of Cestius. He also set fire, not only to the city itself, but to all the villas and small cities that were round about it; some of them were quite destitute of inhabitants, and out of some of them he carried the inhabitants as slaves into captivity.

2. As to Josephus, his retiring to that city which he chose as the most for his security, put it into great fear; for the people of Tiberias did not imagine that he would have run away, unless he had entirely despaired of the success of the war. And indeed as to that point, they were not mistaken about his opinion; for he saw whether the affairs of the Jews would tend at last, was sensible that they had but one way of escaping, and that was by repentance. However, although he expected that the Romans would forgive him, yet did he choose to die many times over, rather than to betray his country, and to dishonour that supreme command of the army which had been entrusted with him, or to live happily under those against whom he was sent to fight. He determined, therefore, to give an exact account of affairs to the principal men at Jerusalem by a letter,

that he might not by too much aggrandizing the power of the enemy, make them too timorous, nor by relating that their power beneath the truth, might encourage them to stand out when they were perhaps disposed to repentance. He also sent them word, that if they thought of coming to terms, they must suddenly write to him an answer; or if they resolved upon war, they must send him an army sufficient to fight the Romans. Accordingly he wrote these things, and sent messengers immediately to carry his letter to Jerusalem.

3. Now Vespasian was very desirous of demolishing Jotapata, for he had gotten intelligence that the greatest part of the enemy had retired thither, and that it was, on other accounts, a place of great security to them. Accordingly he sent both footmen and horsemen to level the road, which was mountainous and rocky, not without difficulty to be travelled over by footmen, but absolutely impracticable for horsemen. Now these workmen accomplished what they were about in four days time, and opened a broad way for the army. On the fifth day, which was the twenty-first of the month Artemisius (Jyar), Josephus prevented him, and came from Tiberias, and went into Jotapata, and raised the drooping spirits of the Jews. And a certain deserter told this good news to Vespasian, that Josephus had removed himself thither, which made him make haste to the city as supposing, that with taking that he should take all Judea, in case he could but withal get Josephus under his power. So he took this news to be of the vastest advantage to him, and believed it to be brought about by the providence of God, that he who appeared to be the most prudent man of all their enemies, of his own accord, shut himself up in a place of sure custody. Accordingly, he sent Placidus with a thousand horsemen, and Ebutius a decurion, a person that was of eminency both in council and in action, to encompass the city round, that Josephus might not escape away privately.

4. Vespasian also, the very next day, took his whole army and followed them, and by marching till late in the evening, arrived then at Jotapata; and bringing his army to the northern side of the city, he pitched his camp on a certain small hill which was seven furlongs from the city, and still greatly endeavoured to be well seen by the enemy, to put them into a consternation; which was indeed so terrible to the Jews immediately, that no one of them durst go out beyond the wall. Yet did the Romans put off the attack at that time, because they had marched all the day, although they placed a double row of battalions round the city, with a third row beyond them round the whole, which consisted of cavalry, in order to stop up every way for an exit; which thing making the Jews despair of escaping, excit-

ed them to act more boldly; for nothing makes them fight so desperately in war as necessity.

5. Now when the next day an assault was made by the Romans, the Jews at first stayed out of the walls and opposed them, and met them as having formed themselves a camp before the city walls. But when Vespasian had set against them the archers and slingers, and the whole multitude that could throw to a great distance, he permitted them to go to work, while he himself, with the footmen, got upon an acclivity, whence the city might easily be taken. Josephus was then in fear for the city, and leaped out, and all the Jewish multitude with him; these fell together upon the Romans in great numbers, and drove them away from the wall, and performed a great many glorious and bold actions. Yet did they suffer as much as they made the enemy suffer; for as despair of deliverance encouraged the Jews, so did a sense of shame equally encourage the Romans. These last had skill as well as strength; the other had only courage, which armed them and made them fight furiously. And when the fight had lasted all day, it was put an end to by the coming on of the night. They had wounded a great many of the Romans, and killed of them thirteen men; of the Jews side seventeen were slain, and six hundred wounded.

6. On the next day the Jews made another attack upon the Romans, and went out of the walls, and fought a much more desperate battle with them than before. For they were now become more courageous than formerly, and that on account of the unexpected good opposition they had made the day before; as they found the Romans also to fight more desperately; for a sense of shame inflamed these into a passion, as esteeming their failure of a sudden victory to be a kind of defeat. Thus did the Romans try to make an impression upon the Jews, till the fifth day continually, while the people of Jotapata made sallies out, and fought at the walls most desperately; nor were the Jews affrighted at the strength of the enemy, nor were the Romans discouraged at the difficulties they met with in taking the city.

7. Now Jotapata is almost all of it built on a precipice, having on all the other sides of it every way valleys immensely deep and steep, insomuch, that those who would look down would have their sight fail them before it reaches to the bottom. It is only to be come at on the north side, where the utmost part of the city is built on the mountain, as it ends obliquely at a plain. This mountain Josephus had encompassed with a wall when he fortified the city, that its top might not be capable of being seized upon by the enemies. The city

is covered all round with other mountains, and can no way be seen till a man comes just upon it. And this was the strong situation of Jotapata.

8. Vespasian, therefore, in order to try how he might overcome the natural strength of the place, as well as the bold defence of the Jews, made a resolution to prosecute the siege with vigour. To that end he called the commanders that were under him to a council of war, and consulted with them which way the assault might be managed to the best advantage. And when the resolution was there taken to raise a bank against that part of the wall which was practicable, he sent his whole army abroad to get the materials together. So when they had cut down all the trees on the mountains that adjoined to the city, and had gotten together a vast heap of stones besides the wood they had cut down, some of them brought hurdles, in order to avoid the effects of the darts that were shot from above them. These hurdles they spread over their banks, under cover whereof they formed their bank, and so were little or nothing hurt by the darts that were thrown upon them from the wall, while others pulled the neighbouring hillocks to pieces, and perpetually brought earth to them; so that while they were busy three sorts of ways, nobody was idle. However, the Jews cast great stones from the walls upon the hurdles which protected the men with all sorts of darts also; and the noise of what could not reach them was yet so terrible, that it was some impediment to the workmen.

9. Vespasian then set the engines for throwing stones and darts round about the city. The number of the engines was in all an hundred and sixty, and bid them fall to work, and dislodge those that were upon the wall. At the same time such engines as were intended for that purpose threw at once lances upon them with a great noise, and stones of the weight of a talent were thrown by the engines that were prepared for that purpose, together with fire, and a vast multitude of arrows, which made the wall so dangerous, that the Jews durst not only not come upon it, but durst not come to those parts within the walls which were reached by the engines; for the multitude of the Arabian archers, as well also as all those that threw darts and flung stones, fell to work at the same time with the engines. Yet did not the others lie still, when they could not throw at the Romans from a higher place; for they then made sallies out of the city, like private robbers by parties, and pulled away the hurdles that covered the workmen, and killed them when they were thus naked; and when those workmen gave way these cast away the earth that composed the bank and burnt the wooden parts of it, together with the hurdles, till

at length Vespasian perceived that the intervals there was between the works were of disadvantage to him; for those spaces of ground afforded the Jews a place for assaulting the Romans. So he united the hurdles, and at the same time joined one part of the army to the other, which prevented the private excursions of the Jews.

10. And when the bank was now raised, and brought nearer than ever to the battlements that belonged to the walls, Josephus thought it would be entirely wrong in him if he could make no contrivance in opposition to theirs, and that might be for the city's preservation; so he got together his workmen, and ordered them to build the wall higher; and when they said that this was impossible to be done while so many darts were thrown at them, he invented this sort of cover for them; he bid them fix piles, and expand before them the raw hides of oxen, newly killed, that these hides by yielding and hollowing themselves when the stones were thrown at them might receive them, for that the other darts would slide off them, and the fire that was thrown would be quenched by the moisture that was in them. And these he set before the workmen, and under them these workmen went on with their works in safety, and raised the wall higher, and that both by day and by night, till it was twenty cubits high. He also built a good number of towers upon the wall, and fitted it to strong battlements. This greatly discouraged the Romans, who in their own opinions were already gotten within the walls, while they were now at once astonished at Josephus's contrivance, and at the fortitude of the citizens that were in the city.

11. And now Vespasian was plainly irritated at the great subtilety of this stratagem, and at the boldness of the citizens of Jotapata; for taking heart again upon the building of this wall, they made fresh sallies upon the Romans, and had every day conflicts with them by parties, together with all such contrivances as robbers make use of, and with the plundering of all that came to hand, as also with the setting fire to all the other works; and this till Vespasian made his army leave off fighting them, and resolved to lie round the city, and to starve them into a surrender, as supposing that either they would be forced to petition him for mercy by want of provisions, or if they should have the courage to hold out to the last they should perish by famine: and he concluded he should conquer them the more easily in fighting, if he gave them an interval, and then fell upon them when they were weakened by famine; but still he gave orders that they should guard against their coming out of the city.

12. Now the besieged had plenty of corn within the city, and indeed of all other necessaries, but they wanted water, because there was no fountain in the city, the people being there usually satisfied with rain water, yet it is a rare thing in that country to have rain in summer, and at this season, during the siege, they were in great distress for some contrivance to satisfy their thirst; and they were very sad at this time particularly, as if they were already in want of water entirely, for Josephus seeing that the city abounded with other necessaries, and that the men were of good courage, and being desirous to protract the siege to the Romans longer than they expected, ordered their drink to be given them by measure: but this scanty distribution of water by measure was deemed by them as a thing more hard upon them than the want of it; and their not being able to drink as much as they would, made them more desirous of drinking than they otherwise had been; nay, they were as much disheartened hereby as if they were come to the last degree of thirst. Nor were the Romans unacquainted with the state they were in, for when they stood over against them, beyond the wall, they could see them running together, and taking their water by measure, which made them throw their javelins thither, the place being within their reach, and kill a great many of them.

13. Hereupon Vespasian hoped that their receptacles of water would in no long time be emptied, and that they would be forced to deliver up the city to him; but Josephus being minded to break such his hope, gave command that they should wet a great many of their clothes, and hang them out about the battlements, till the entire wall was of a sudden all wet with the running down of the water. At this sight the Romans were discouraged, and under consternation, when they saw them able to throw away in sport so much water, when they supposed them not to have enough to drink themselves. This made the Roman general despair of taking their city by their want of necessaries, and to betake himself again to arms, and to try to force them to surrender, which was what the Jews greatly desired; for as they despaired of either themselves or their city's being able to escape; they preferred a death in battle before one by hunger and thirst.

14. However, Josephus contrived another stratagem besides the foregoing, to get plenty of what they wanted. There was a certain rough and uneven place that could hardly be ascended, and on that account was not guarded by the soldiers; so Josephus sent out certain persons along the western parts of the valley, and by them sent letters to whom he pleased of the Jews that were out of the city, and procured from them what

necessaries soever they wanted in the city in abundance; he enjoined them also to creep generally along by the watch as they came into the city, and to cover their backs with such sheep-skins as had their wool upon them, that if any one should spy them out in the night time, they might be believed to be dogs. This was done till the watch perceived their contrivance, and encompassed that rough place about themselves.

15. And now it was that Josephus perceived that the city could not hold out long, and that his own life would be in doubt if he continued in it; so he consulted how he and the most potent men of the city might fly out of it. When the multitude understood this, they came all round about him, and begged of him, "Not to overlook them while they entirely depend-" ed on him, and him alone; for that there was still hope of " the city's deliverance, if he would stay with them, because " every body would undertake any pains with great cheerful-" ness on his account, and in that case there would be some " comfort for them also, though they should be taken. That it " became him neither to fly from his enemies, nor to desert his " friends, nor to leap out of that city, as out of a ship that was " sinking in a storm, into which he came when it was quiet and " in a calm; for that by going away he would be the cause of " drowning the city, because nobody would then venture to op-" pose the enemy when he was once gone, upon whom they " wholly confided."

16. Hereupon Josephus avoided letting them know that he was to go away to provide for his own safety, but told them, that " he would go out of the city for their sakes; for that if " he staid with them, he should be able to do them little good, " while they were in a safe condition, and that if they were " once taken he should only perish with them to no purpose; " but that if he were once gotten free from this siege, he should " be able to bring them very great relief; for that he would " then immediately get the Galileans together, out of the coun-" try, in great multitudes, and draw the Romans off their city " by another war. That he did not see what advantage he " could bring to them now, by staying among them, but only " provoke the Romans to besiege them more closely, as esteem-" ing it a most valuable thing to take him; but that if they " were once informed that he was fled out of the city, they " would greatly remit of their eagerness against it." Yet did not this plea move the people but inflamed them the more to hang about him. Accordingly, both the children and the old men, and the women with their infants, came mourning to him, and fell down before him, and all of them caught hold of his feet, and held him fast, and besought him with great lamentations,

that he would take his share with them in their fortune; and I think they did this, not that they envied my deliverance, but that they hoped for their own; for they could not think they should suffer any great misfortune, provided Josephus would but stay with them.

17. Now, Josephus thought, that if he resolved to stay, it would be ascribed to their entreaties, and if he resolved to go away by force he should be put into custody. His commisseration also of the people under their lamentations had much broken that his eagerness to leave them; so he resolved to stay, and arming himself with the common despair of the citizens he said to them, "Now is the time to begin to fight in earnest, "when there is no hope of deliverance left. It is a brave "thing to prefer glory before life, and to set about some such "noble undertaking as may be remembered by late posterity." Having said this, he fell to work immediately, and made a sally, and dispersed the enemies out-guards, and ran as far as the Roman camp itself, and pulled the coverings of their tents to pieces, that were upon the banks, and set fire to their works. And this was the manner in which he never left of fighting, neither the next day nor the day after it, but went on with it for a considerable number of both days and nights.

18. Upon this, Vespasian when he saw the Romans distressed by these sallies, (though they were ashamed to be made to run away by the Jews; and when at any time they made the Jews run away, their heavy armour would not let them pursue them far, while the Jews, when they had performed any action, and before they could be hurt themselves, still retired into the city), ordered his armed men to avoid their onset, and not fight it out with men under desperation, while nothing is more courageous than despair; but that their violence would be quenched when they saw they failed of their purposes, as fire is quenched when it wants fuel; and that it was proper for the Romans, for to gain their victories as cheap as they could, since they are not forced to fight, but only to enlarge their own dominions. So he repelled the Jews in great measure by the Arabian archers, and the Syrian slingers, and by those that threw stones at them, nor was there any intermission of the great number of their offensive engines. Now, the Jews suffered greatly by these engines, without being able to escape from them, and when these engines threw their stones or javelins a great way, and the Jews were within their reach, they pressed hard upon the Romans, and fought desperately, without sparing either soul or body, one part succouring another by turns, when it was tired down.

19. When, therefore, Vespasian looked upon himself as in a

manner besieged by these sallies of the Jews, and when his banks were now not far from the walls, he determined to make use of his battering ram. This battering ram is a vast beam of wood like the mast of a ship, its forepart is armed with a thick piece of iron at the head of it, which is so carved as to be like the head of a ram, whence its name is taken. This ram is slung in the air by ropes passing over its middle, and is hung like the balance in a pair of scales from another beam, and braced by strong beams that pass on both sides of it, in the nature of a cross. When this ram is pulled backward by a great number of men with united force, and then thrust forward by the same men, with a mighty noise, it batters the walls with that iron part which is prominent. Nor is there any tower so strong, or walls so broad, than can resist any more than its first batteries, but all are forced to yield to it at last. This was the experiment which the Roman general betook himself to, when he was eagerly bent upon taking the city; but found lying in the field so long to be to his disadvantage, because the Jews would never let him be quiet. So these Romans brought the several engines for galling an enemy nearer to the walls, that they might reach such as were upon the wall, and endeavoured to frustrate their attempts; these threw stones and javelins at them, in the like manner did the archers and slingers come both together closer to the wall. This brought matters to such a pass that none of the Jews durst mount the walls, and then it was that the other Romans brought the battering ram that was cased with hurdles all over, and in the upper part was secured by skins that covered it, and this both for the security of themselves and of the engine. Now, at the very first stroke of this engine, the wall was shaken, and a terrible clamour was raised by the people within the city, as if they were already taken.

20. And now, when Josephus saw this ram still battering the same place, and that the wall would quickly be thrown down by it, he resolved to elude for a while the force of the engine: with this design he gave orders to fill sacks with chaff, and to hand them down before that place where they saw the ram always battering, that the stroke might be turned aside, or that the place might feel less of the strokes by the yielding nature of the chaff. This contrivance very much delayed the attempts of the Romans, because, let them remove their engine to what part they pleased, those that were above it removed their sacks, and placed them over against the strokes it made, insomuch that the wall was no way hurt, and this by diversion of the strokes, till the Romans made an opposite contrivance of long poles, and by tying hooks at their ends, cut off the sacks. Now when the battering ram thus recovered its force, and the wall having been

but newly built, was giving way, Josephus and those about him, had afterward, immediate recourse to fire, to defend themselves withal; whereupon they took what materials soever they had that were but dry, and made a sally three ways, and set fire to the machines, and the hurdles, and the banks of the Romans themselves; nor did the Romans well know how to come to their assistance, being at once under a consternation at the Jews' boldness, and being prevented by the flames from coming to their assistance; for the materials being dry with the bitumen and pitch that were among them, as was brimstone also, the fire caught hold of every thing immediately, and what cost the Romans a great deal of pains was in one hour consumed.

21. And here a certain Jew appeared worthy of our relation and commendation, he was the son of Sameas, and was called Eleazar, and was born at Saab, in Galilee. This man took up a stone of a vast bigness, and threw it down from the wall upon the ram, and this with so great a force that it broke off the head of the engine. He also leaped down, and took up the head of the ram from the midst of them, and without any concern, carried it to the top of the wall, and this, while he stood as a fit mark to be pelted by all his enemies. Accordingly, he received the strokes upon his naked body, and was wounded with five darts: nor did he mind any of them while he went up to the top of the wall, where he stood in the sight of them all, as an instance of the greatest boldness; after which, he drew himself on a heap with his wounds upon him, and fell down together with the head of the ram. Next to him, two brothers shewed their courage, their names were Netir and Philip, both of them of the village Ruma, and both of them Galileans also; these men leaped upon the soldiers of the tenth legion, and fell upon the Romans with such a noise and force as to disorder their ranks, and to put to flight all upon whomsoever they made their assaults.

22. After these men's performances, Josephus, and the rest of the multitude with him, took a great deal of fire, and burnt both the machines, and their coverings, with the works belonging to the fifth, and to the tenth legion, which they put to flight; when others followed them immediately, and buried those instruments, and all their materials under ground. However, about the evening, the Romans erected the battering ram again, against that part of the wall which had suffered before; where a certain Jew that defended the city from the Romans, hit Vespasian with a dart in his foot, and wounded him a little, the distance being so great, that no mighty impression could be made by the dart thrown so far off. However, this caused the greatest disorder among the Romans; for when those who stood near

him saw his blood, they were disturbed at it, and a report went abroad, through the whole army that the general was wounded, while the greatest part left the siege, and came running together with surprise and fear to the general; and before them all came Titus, out of the concern he had for his father, insomuch, that the multitude were in great confusion, and this, out of the regard they had for their general, and by reason of the agony that the son was in. Yet did Vespasian soon put an end to the son's fear, and to the disorder the army was under, for being superior to his pains, and endeavouring soon to be seen by all that had been in a fright about him, he excited them to fight the Jews more briskly; for now every body was willing to expose himself to danger immediately; in order to avenge their general, and then they encouraged one another with loud voices, and ran hastily to the walls.

23. But still Josephus and those with him, although they fell down dead one upon another by the darts and stones which the engines threw upon them, yet did not they desert the wall, but fell upon those who managed the ram, under the protection of the hurdles, with fire, and iron weapons, and stones; and these could do little or nothing, but fell themselves perpetually, while they were seen by those whom they could not see, for the light of their own flame shone about them, and made them a most visible mark to the enemy as they were in the day time, while the engines could not be seen at a great distance, and so what was thrown at them was hard to be avoided, for the force with which these engines threw stones and darts made them hurt several at a time, and the violent noise of the stones that were cast by the engines were so great, that they carried away the pinnacles of the wall, and broke off the corners of the towers; for no body of men could be so strong as not to be overthrown to the last rank by the largeness of the stones. And any one may learn the force of the engines by what happened this very night; for as one of those that stood round about Josephus was near the wall, his head was carried away by such a stone, and his skull was flung as far as three furlongs. In the day time also, a woman with child had her belly so violently struck, as she was just come out of her house, that the infant was carried to the distance of half a furlong, so great was the force of that engine. The noise of the instruments themselves was very terrible, the sound of the darts and stones that were thrown by them was so also; of the same sort was that noise the dead bodies made, when they were dashed against the wall; and indeed dreadful was the clamour which these things raised in the women within the city, which was echoed back at the same time by the cries of such as were slain; while the whole space

of ground whereon they fought ran with blood, and the wall might have been ascended over by bodies of the dead carcases; the mountains also contributed to increase the noise by their echoes, nor was there on that night any thing of terror wanting, that could either affect the hearing, or the sight; yet did a great part of those that fought so hard for Jotapata fall manfully, as were a great part of them wounded. However, the morning watch was come ere the wall yielded to the machines employed against it, though it had been battered without intermission. However, those within covered their bodies with their armour, and raised works over against that part which was thrown down, before those machines were laid, by which the Romans were to ascend into the city.

24. In the morning Vespasian got his army together, in order to take the city [by storm], after a little recreation upon the hard pains they had been at the night before; and as he was desirous to draw off those that opposed him from the places where the wall had been thrown down, he made the most courageous of the horsemen get off their horses, and placed them in three ranks over against these ruins of the wall, but covered with their armour on every side, and with poles in their hands, that so these might begin their ascent as soon as the instruments for such ascent was laid; behind him he placed the flower of the footmen; but for the rest of the horse, he ordered them to extend themselves over against the wall, upon the whole hilly country, in order to prevent any from escaping out of the city when it should be taken; and behind these he placed the archers round about, and commanded them to have their darts ready to shoot. The same commands he gave to the slingers, and to those that managed the engines, and bid them to take up other ladders, and have ready to lay upon those parts of the wall which were yet untouched, that the besieged might be engaged in trying to hinder their ascent by them, and leave the guard of the parts that were thrown down, while the rest of them should be over-borne by the darts cast at them, and might afford his men an entrance into the city.

25. But Josephus, understanding the meaning of Vespasian's contrivance, set the old men, together with those that were tired out at the sound parts of the wall, as expecting no harm from those quarters, but set the strongest of his men at the place where the wall was broken down, and before them all six men by themselves, among whom he took his share of the first and greatest danger. He also gave orders, That "when the legions made a shout they should stop their ears, that they "might not be affrighted at it, and that, to avoid the multi"tude of the enemies darts, they should bend down on their

"knees, and cover themselves with their shields, and that "they should retreat a little backward for a while, till the "archers should have emptied their quivers; but that, when "the Romans should lay their instruments for ascending the "walls, they should leap out on the sudden, and with their own "instruments should meet the enemy, and that every one should "strive to do his best, in order, not to defend his own city, as if "it were possible to be preserved, but in order to revenge it, "when it was already destroyed; and that they should set be-"fore their eyes how their old men were to be slain, and their "children and wives were to be killed immediately by the ene-"my; and that they would before-hand spend all their fury on "account of the calamities just coming upon them, and pour it "out on the actors."

26. And thus did Josephus dispose of both his bodies of men, but then for the useless part of the citizens, the women and children, when they saw their city encompassed by a threefold army, (for none of the usual guards, that had been fighting before were removed), when they also saw, not only the walls thrown down, but their enemies, with swords in their hands, as also the hilly country above them shining with their weapons, and the darts in the hands of the Arabian archers, they made a final and lamentable outcry of the destruction, as if the misery were not only threatened, but actually come upon them already. But Josephus ordered the women to be shut up in their houses lest they should render the warlike actions of the men too effeminate, by making them commiserate their condition, and commanded them to hold their peace, and threatened them if they did not, while he came himself before the breach, where his allotment was: for all those who brought ladders to the other places, he took no notice of them, but earnestly waited for the shower of arrows that was coming.

27. And now the trumpeters of the several Roman legions sounded together, and the army made a terrible shout, and the darts, as by order flew so fast, that they intercepted the light. However, Josephus's men remembered the charges he had given them; they stopped their ears at the sounds, and covered their bodies against the darts; and as to the engines that were set ready to go to work, the Jews run out upon them, before those that should have used them were gotten upon them. And now, on the ascending of the soldiers, there was a great conflict, and many actions of the hands, and of the soul, were exhibited, while the Jews did earnestly endeavour, in the extreme danger they were in, not to shew less courage, than those who, without being in danger, fought so stoutly against them, nor did they leave struggling with the Romans till they either fell down dead

themselves, or killed their antagonists. But the Jews grew weary with defending themselves continually, and had not enow to come in their places, and succour them; while on the side of the Romans fresh men still succeeded those that were tired, and still new men soon got upon the machines for ascent, in the room of those that were thrust down, those encouraging one another, and joining side to side with their shields, which were a protection to them, they became a body of men not to be broken, and as this band thrust away the Jews, as though they were themselves but one body, they began already to get upon the wall.

28. Then did Josephus take necessity for his counsellor in this utmost distress, (which necessity is very sagacious in invention when it is irritated by despair), and gave orders to pour scalding oil upon those whose shields protected them. Whereupon they soon got it ready, being many that brought it, and what they brought being a great quantity also, and poured it on all sides upon the Romans, and threw down upon them their vessels as they were still hissing from the heat of the fire; this so burnt the Romans, that it dispersed that united band, who now tumbled down from the wall, with horrid pains, for the oil did easily run down the whole body from head to foot, under their entire armour, and fed upon their flesh like flame itself, its fat and unctious nature rendering it soon heated, and slowly cooled; and as the men were cooped up in their head-pieces, and breast-plates, they could no way get free from this burning oil, they could only leap and roll about in their pains, as they fell down from the bridges they had laid. And as they thus were beaten back, and retired to their own party, who still pressed them forward, they were easily wounded by those that were behind them.

29. However, in this ill success of the Romans, their courage did not fail them, nor did the Jews want prudence to oppose them; for the Romans, although they saw their own men thrown down, and in a miserable condition, yet were they vehemently bent against those that poured the oil upon them, while every one reproached the man before him as a coward, and one that hindered him from exerting himself; and while the Jews made use of another stratagem to prevent their ascent, and poured boiling senegreek upon the boards in order to make them slip and fall down; by which means neither could those that were coming up, nor those that were going down, stand on their feet; but some of them fell backward, upon the machines on which they ascended, and were trodden upon; many of them fell down upon the bank they had raised, and when they were fallen upon it were slain by the Jews; for when the Romans could not keep their feet, the Jews being freed from fighting

hand to hand, had leisure to throw their darts at them. So the general called off those soldiers in the evening that had suffered so sorely, of whom the number of the slain was not a few, while that of the wounded was still greater; but of the people of Jotapata no more than six men were killed, although more than three hundred were carried off wounded. This fight happened on the twentieth day of the month Desius, [Sivan].

30. Hereupon Vespasian comforted his army on occasion of what happened, and as he found them angry indeed, but rather wanting somewhat to do than any farther exhortations, he gave orders to raise the banks still higher, and to erect three towers, each fifty feet high, and that they should cover them with plates of iron, on every side, that they might be both firm by their weight, and not easily liable to be set on fire. These towers he set upon the banks, and placed upon them such as could shoot darts and arrows, with the lighter engines for throwing stones and darts also; and besides these, he set upon them the stoutest men among the slingers, who not being to be seen by reason of the height they stood upon, and the battlements that protected them, might throw their weapons at those that were upon the wall, and were easily seen by them. Hereupon the Jews, not being easily able to escape those darts that were thrown down upon their heads, nor to avenge themselves on those whom they could not see, and perceiving that the height of the towers was so great, that a dart which they threw with their hand, could hardly reach it, and that the iron plates about them made it very hard to come at them by fire, they ran away from the walls, and fled hastily out of the city, and fell upon those that shot at them. And thus did the people of Jotapata resist the Romans, while a great number of them were every day killed, without their being able to retort the evil upon their enemies, nor could they keep them out of the city without danger to themselves.

31. About this time it was that Vespasian sent out Trajan against a city called *Japha*, that lay near to Jotapata, and that desired innovations, and was puffed up with the unexpected length of the opposition of Jotapata. This Trajan was the commander of the tenth legion, and to him Vespasian committed one thousand horsemen, and two thousand footmen. When Trajan came to the city, he found it hard to be taken, for besides the natural strength of its situation, it was also secured by a double wall; but when he saw the people of this city coming out of it, and ready to fight him, he joined battle with them, and after a short resistance which they made, he pursued after them; and as they fled to their first wall, the Romans followed them so closely that they fell in together with them: but when the Jews were

endeavouring to get again within their second wall, their fellow-citizens shut them out, as being afraid that the Romans would force themselves in with them. It was certainly God therefore who brought the Romans to punish the Galileans, and did then expose the people of the city every one of them manifestly to be destroyed by their bloody enemies: for they fell upon the gates in great crowds; and earnestly calling to those that kept them, and that by their names also, yet had they their throats cut in the very midst of their supplications; for the enemy shut the gates of the first wall, and their own citizens shut the gates of the second, so they were enclosed between two walls, and were slain in great numbers together; many of them were run through by swords of their own men, and many by their own swords, besides an immense number that were slain by the Romans. Nor had they any courage to revenge themselves; for there was added to the consternation they were in from the enemy, their being betrayed by their own friends, which quite broke their spirits; and at last they died, cursing not the Romans, but their own citizens, till they were all destroyed, being in number twelve thousand. So Trajan gathered that the city was empty of people that could fight, and although there should a few of them be therein, he supposed that they would be too timorous to venture upon any opposition; so he reserved the taking of the city to the general. Accordingly he sent messengers to Vespasian, and desired him to send his son Titus to finish the victory he had gained. Vespasian hereupon imagining there might be some pains still necessary; sent his son with an army of five hundred horsemen, and one thousand footmen. So he came quickly to the city, and put his army in order, and set Trajan over the left wing, while he had the right himself, and led them to the siege: and when the soldiers brought ladders to be laid against the wall on every side, the Galileans opposed them from above for a while, but soon afterward they left the walls. Then did Titus's men leap into the city, and seized upon it presently; but when those that were in it were gotten together there was a fierce battle between them; for the men of power fell upon the Romans in the narrow streets, and the women threw whatsoever came next to hand at them, and sustained a fight with them for six hours time; but when the fighting men were spent, the rest of the multitude had their throats cut, partly in the open air, and partly in their own houses, both young and old together. So there were no males now remaining besides infants, which, with the women, were carried as slaves into captivity; so that the number of the slain both now in the city and at the former fight, was fifteen thousand, and the captives were two thousand one hundred and thirty

This calamity befel the Galileans on the twenty-fifth day of the month Desius [Sivan].

32. Nor did the Samaritans escape their share of misfortunes at this time; for they assembled themselves together upon the mountain called Gerizzim, which is with them an holy mountain, and there they remained: which collection of theirs, as well as the courageous minds they shewed, could not but threaten somewhat of war; nor were they rendered wiser by the miseries that had come upon their neighbouring cities. They also, notwithstanding the great success the Romans had, marched on in an unreasonable manner, depending on their own strength, and were disposed for any tumult upon its first appearance. Vespasian therefore thought it best to prevent their motions, and to cut off the foundation of their attempts. For although all Samaria had ever garrisons settled among them, yet did the number of those that were come to mount Gerizzim, and their conspiracy together, give ground for fear what they would be at: he therefore sent thither Cerealis, the commander of the fifth legion, with six hundred horsemen, and three thousand footmen, who did not think it safe to go up the mountain, and give them battle, because many of the enemy were on the higher part of the ground; so he encompassed all the lower part of the mountain with his army, and watched them all that day. Now it happened that the Samaritans, who were now destitute of water, were inflamed with a violent heat (for it was summer time, and the multitude had not provided themselves with necessaries), insomuch that some of them died that very day with heat, while others of them preferred slavery before such a death as that was, and fled to the Romans: by whom Cerealis understood that those which still stayed there were very much broken by their misfortunes. So he went up the mountain, and having placed his forces round about the enemy, he, in the first place, exhorted them to take the security of his right hand, and come to terms with him, and thereby save themselves; and assured them that if they would lay down their arms, he would secure them from any harm; but when he could not prevail with them, he fell upon them and slew them all, being in number eleven thousand and six hundred. This was done on the twenty-seventh day of the month Desius [Sivan]. And these were the calamities that befel the Samaritans at this time.

33. But as the people of Jotapata still held out manfully, and bore up under their miseries beyond all that could be hoped for, on the forty-seventh day [of the siege] the banks cast up by the Romans were become higher than the wall; on which day a certain deserter went to Vespasian, and told him how few were left in the city, and how weak they were, and that they had

been so worn out with perpetual watching, and as perpetual fighting, that they could not now oppose any force that came against them, and that they might be taken by stratagem, if any one would attack them; for that about the last watch of the night, when they thought they might have some rest from the hardships they were under, and when a morning sleep used to come upon them, as they were thoroughly weary, he said the watch used to fall asleep; accordingly his advice was, that they should make their attack at that hour. But Vespasian had a suspicion about this deserter, as knowing how faithful the Jews were to one another, and how much they despised any punishments that could be inflicted on them; this last, because one of the people of Jotapata had undergone all sorts of torments, and though they made him pass through a fiery trial of his enemies in his examination, yet would he inform them nothing of the affairs within the city, and as he was crucified, smiled at them. However, the probability there was in the relation itself, did partly confirm the truth of what the deserter told them, and they thought he might probably speak truth. However, Vespasian thought they should be no great sufferers, if the report was a sham; so he commanded them to keep the man in custody, and prepared the army for taking the city.

34. According to which resolution they marched without noise, at the hour that had been told them, to the wall; and it was Titus himself that first got upon it, with one of his tribunes, Domitius Sabinus, and had a few of the fifteenth legion along with him. So they cut the throats of the watch, and entered the city very quietly. After these came Cerealis the tribune, and Placidus, and led on those that were under them. Now when the citadel was taken, and the enemy were in the very midst of the city, and when it was already day, yet was not the taking of the city known by those that held it; for a great many of them were fast a-sleep, and a great mist, which then by chance fell upon the city, hindered those that got up from distinctly seeing the case they were in, till the whole Roman army was gotten in, and they were raised up only to find the miseries they were under; and as they were slaying, they perceived the city was taken. And for the Romans, they so well remembered what they had suffered during the siege, that they spared none, nor pitied any, but drove the people down the precipice from the citadel, and slew them as they drove them down; at which time the difficulties of the place hindered those that were still able to fight from defending themselves; for as they were distressed in the narrow streets, and could not keep their feet sure along the precipice, they were overpowered with the crowd of those that came fighting them down from the citadel. This provoked a great many, even of those chosen men that were about

Josephus, to kill themselves with their own hands; for when they saw that they could kill none of the Romans, they resolved to prevent being killed by the Romans, and got together in great numbers in the utmost parts of the city, and killed themselves.

35. However, such of the watch as at the first perceived they were taken, and ran away as fast as they could, went up into one of the towers on the north side of the city, and for a while defended themselves there; but as they were encompassed with a multitude of enemies, they tried to use their right hands when it was too late, and at length they cheerfully offered their necks to be cut off by those that stood over them. And the Romans might have boasted that the conclusion of that siege was without blood [on their side], if there had not been a centurion, Antonius, who was slain at the taking of the city. His death was occasioned by the following treachery: for there was one of those that were fled into the caverns, which were a great number, who desired that this Antonius would reach him his right hand for his security, and would assure him that he would preserve him, and give him his assistance in getting up out of the cavern; accordingly he incautiously reached him his right hand, when the other man prevented him, and stabbed him under his loins with a spear, and killed him immediately.

36. And on this day it was that the Romans slew all the multitude that appeared openly: but on the following days they searched the hiding places, and fell upon those that were under ground, and in the caverns, and went thus through every age, excepting the infants and the women, and of these there were gathered together as captives twelve hundred; and as for those that were slain at the taking of the city, and in the former fights, they were numbered to be forty thousand. So Vespasian gave order that the city should be entirely demolished, and all the fortifications burnt down. And thus was Jotapata taken, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Nero, on the first day of the month Panemus [Tamuz].

CHAP. VIII.

How Josephus was discovered by a woman, and was willing to deliver himself up to the Romans; and what discourse he had with his own men, when they endeavoured to hinder him; and what he said to Vespasian, when he was brought to him; and after what manner Vespasian used him afterward.

§ 1. AND now the Romans searched for Josephus, both out of the hatred they bore him, and because their general was very desirous to have him taken; for he reckoned that if he were

once taken, the greatest part of the war would be over. They then searched among the dead, and looked into the most concealed recesses of the city; but as the city was first taken, he was assisted by a certain supernatural providence; for he withdrew himself from the enemy when he was in the midst of them, and leaped into a certain deep pit, whereto there adjoined a large den at one side of it, which den could not be seen by those that were above ground; and here he met with forty persons of eminency that had concealed themselves, and with provisions enough to satisfy them for not a few days. So in the day time he hid himself from the enemy, who had seized upon all places, and in the night time he got up out of the den, and looked about for some way of escaping, and took exact notice of the watch: but as all places were guarded every where on his account, that there was no way of getting off unseen, he went down again into the den. Thus he concealed himself two days; but on the third day, when they had taken a woman who had been with them, he was discovered. Whereupon Vespasian sent immediately and zealously two tribunes, Paulinus and Galicanus, and ordered them to give Josephus their right hands as a security for his life, and to exhort him to come up.

2. So they came and envited the man to come up, and gave him assurances that his life should be preserved: but they did not prevail with him; for he gathered suspicions from the probability there was that one who had done so many things against the Romans, must suffer for it, though not from the mild temper of those that invited him. However, he was afraid that he was invited to come up in order to be punished, until Vespasian sent besides these a third tribune, Nicanor, to him; he was one that was well known to Josephus, and had been his familiar acquaintance in old time. When he was come, he enlarged upon the natural mildness of the Romans towards those they have once conquered, and told him, that he had behaved himself so valiantly, that the commanders rather admired than hated him; that the general was very desirous to have him brought to him, not in order to punish him, for that he could do though he should not come voluntarily, but that he was determined to preserve a man of his courage. He moreover added this, that Vespasian, had he been resolved to impose upon him, would not have sent to him a friend of his own, nor put the fairest colour upon the vilest action, by pretending friendship and meaning perfidiousness, nor would he have himself acquiesced, or come to him, had it been to deceive him.

3. Now as Josephus began to hesitate with himself about Nicanor's proposal, the soldiery were so angry, that they ran hastily to set fire to the den; but the tribune would not permit

them so to do, as being very desirous to take the man alive. And now as Nicanor lay hard at Josephus to comply, and he understood how the multitude of the enemies threatened him, he called to mind the dreams which he had dreamed in the night time, whereby God had signified to him before-hand both the future calamities of the Jews, and the events that concerned the Roman emperors. Now Josephus was able to give shrewd conjectures about the interpretation of such dreams as have been ambiguously delivered by God. Moreover, he was not unacquainted with the prophecies contained in the sacred books, as being a priest himself, and of the posterity of priests; and just then was he in an ecstasy, and setting before him the tremenduous images of the dreams he had lately had, he put up a secret prayer to God, and said, " Since it pleaseth thee, who hast created the
" Jewish nation, to depress the same, and since all their good
" fortune is gone over to the Romans, and since thou hast made
" choice of this soul of mine to foretel what is to come to pass
" hereafter, I willingly give them my hands, and am content to
" live. And I protest openly, that I do not go over to the Ro-
" mans as a deserter of the Jews, but as a minister from thee."

4. When he had said this, he complied with Nicanor's invitation. But when those Jews who had fled with him, understood that he yielded to those that invited him to come up, they came about him in a body, and cried out, " Nay, indeed, now,
" may the laws of our forefathers, which God ordained himself,
" well groan to purpose; that God we mean who hath created
" the souls of the Jews of such a temper, that they despise death.
" O Josephus! art thou still fond of life; and canst thou bear to
" see the light in a state of slavery? How soon hast thou for-
" gotten thyself? How many hast thou persuaded to lose their
" lives for liberty? Thou hast therefore had a false reputation
" for manhood, and a like false reputation for wisdom, if thou
" canst hope for preservation from those against whom thou
" hast fought so zealously, and art however willing to be pre-
" served by them, if they be in earnest. But although the good
" fortune of the Romans hath made thee forget thyself, we
" ought to take care that the glory of our forefathers may not
" be tarnished. We will lend thee our right hand and a sword;
" and if thou wilt die willingly, thou wilt die as general of the
" Jews; but if unwillingly, thou wilt die as a traitor to them."
As soon as they said this, they began to thrust their swords at him, and threatened they would kill him, if he thought of yielding himself to the Romans.

5. Upon this Josephus was afraid of their attacking him, and yet thought he should be a betrayer of the commands of God, if he died before they were delivered. So he began to talk like a

philosopher to them in the distress he was then in, when he said thus to them: "O my friends, why are we so earnest to kill our-"selves? and why do we set our soul and body, which are "such dear companions, at such variance? can any one pre-"tend that I am not the man I was formerly? Nay, the Ro-"mans are sensible how that matter stands well enough. It is "a brave thing to die in war; but so that it be according to the "law of war, by the hand of conquerors. If, therefore, I a-"void death from the sword of the Romans, I am truly wor-"thy to be killed by my own sword, and my own hand: but "if they admit of mercy, and would spare their enemy, how "much more ought we to have mercy upon ourselves, and to "spare ourselves? For it is certainly a foolish thing to do that "to ourselves which we quarrel with them for doing to us. I "confess freely, that it is a brave thing to die for liberty; but "still so that it be in war, and done by those who take that li-"berty from us; but in the present case our enemies do neither "meet us in battle, nor do they kill us. Now, he is equally a "coward who will not die when he is obliged to die, and he who "will die when he is not obliged so to do. What are we afraid "of, when we will not go up to the Romans? Is it death! "If so, what we are afraid of when we but suspect our ene-"mies will inflict it on us, shall we inflict it on ourselves for "certain? But it may be said, we must be slaves. And are "we then in a clear state of liberty at present? It may also be "said, that it is a manly act for one to kill himself. No, cer-"tainly, but a most unmanly one; as I should esteem that pilot "to be an arrant coward, who, out of fear of a storm, should "sink his ship of his own accord. Now, self-murder is a crime "most remote from the common nature of all animals, and an "instance of impiety against God our Creator: nor indeed is "there any animal that dies by its own contrivance, or by its "own means, for the desire of life is a law engraven in them "all; on which account we deem those that openly take it "away from us to be our enemies, and those that do it by trea-"chery, are punished for so doing. And do not you think that "God is very angry when a man does injury to what he hath "bestowed on him? For from him it is that we have received "our being, and we ought to leave it to his disposal to take that "being away from us. The bodies of all men are indeed mor-"tal, and are created out of corruptible matter; but the soul "is ever immortal, and is a portion of the divinity that inha-"bits our bodies. Besides, if any one destroys or abuses a "depositum he hath received from a mere man, he is esteemed "a wicked and perfidious person; but then if any one cast out "of his body this divine depositum, can we imagine that he

"who is thereby affronted does not know of it! Moreover, "our law justly ordains that slaves which run away from their "masters shall be punished, though the masters they run away "from may have been wicked masters to them. And shall we "endeavour to run away from God, who is the best of all "masters, and not think ourselves guilty of impiety? Do not "you know that those who depart out of this life, according to "the law of nature, and pay that debt which was received from "God, when he that lent it us is pleased to require it back a-"gain, enjoy eternal fame; that their houses and their posterity "are sure, that their souls are pure and obedient, and obtain a "most holy place in heaven, from whence, in the revolutions of "ages, they are again sent into pure bodies; while the souls of "those whose hands have acted madly against themselves, are "received by the darkest place in Hades, and while God, who "is their father, punishes those that offend against either of "them in their posterity; for which reason God hates such do-"ings, and the crime is punished by our most wise legislator. "Accordingly our laws determine, that the bodies of such as "kill themselves should be exposed till the sun be set, without "burial, although at the same time it be allowed by them to "be lawful to bury our enemies [sooner]. The laws of other "nations also enjoin such men's hands to be cut off when they "are dead, which had been made use of in destroying themselves "when alive, while they reckoned that as the body is alien from "the soul, so is the hand alien from the body. It is, therefore, "my friends, a right thing to reason justly, and not add to the "calamities which men bring upon us, impiety towards our "Creator. If we have a mind to preserve ourselves, let us do "it; for to be preserved by those our enemies, to whom we "have given so many demonstrations of our courage, is no way "inglorious; but if we have a mind to die, it is good to die by "the hand of those that have conquered us. For my part, I "will not run over to our enemies' quarters, in order to be a "traitor to myself; for certainly I should then be much more "foolish than those that deserted to the enemy, since they did it "in order to save themselves, and I should do it for destruction, "for my own destruction. However, I heartily wish the Ro-"mans may prove treacherous in this matter; for if, after "the offer of their right hand for security, I be slain by them, "I shall die cheerfully, and carry away with me the sense of "their perfidiousness, as a consolation greater than victory it-"self."

6. Now these and many the like motives did Josephus use to these men to prevent their murdering themselves; but desperation had shut their ears, as having long ago devoted them-

selves to die, and they were irritated at Josephus. They then ran upon him with their swords in their hands, one from one quarter, and another from another, and called him a coward, and every one of them appeared openly as if he were ready to smite him; but he calling to one of them by name, and looking like a general to another, and taking a third by the hand, and making a fourth ashamed of himself, by praying him to forbear, and being in this condition distracted with various passions, (as he well might in the great distress he was then in), he kept off every one of their swords from killing him, and was forced to do like such wild beasts as are encompassed about on every side, who always turn themselves against those that last touched them. Nay, some of their right hands were debilitated by the reverence they bare to their general, in these his fatal calamities, and their swords dropped out of their hands, and not a few of them there were, who, when they aimed to smite him with their swords, they were not thoroughly either willing or able to do it.

7. However, in this extreme distress, he was not destitute of his usual sagacity; but trusting himself to the providence of God, he put his life into hazard [in the manner following]: "And now," said he, "since it is resolved among you that you "will die, come on, let us commit our mutual deaths to deter- "mination by lot. He whom the lot falls to first, let him be "killed by him that hath the second lot, and thus fortune shall "make its progress through us all; nor shall any of us perish "by his own right hand, for it would be unfair if when the "rest are gone, somebody should repent and save himself." This proposal appeared to them to be very just; and when he had prevailed with them to determine this matter by lots, he drew one of the lots for himself also. He who had the first lot laid his neck bare to him that had the next, as supposing that the general would die among them immediately; for they thought death, if Josephus might but die with them, was sweeter than life: yet was he with another left to the last, whether we must say it happened so by chance, or whether by the providence of God. And as he was very desirous neither to be condemned by the lot, nor, if he had been left to the last, to imbrue his right hand in the blood of his countrymen, he persuaded him to trust his fidelity to him, and to live as well as himself.

8. Thus Josephus escaped in the war with the Romans, and in this his own war with his friends, and was led by Nicanor to Vespasian. But now all the Romans ran together to see him; and as the multitude pressed one upon another about their general, there was a tumult of a various kind; while some rejoiced

that Josephus was taken, and some threatened him, and some crowded to see him very near; but those that were more remote cried out to have this their enemy put to death, while those that were near called to mind the actions he had done, and a deep concern appeared at the change of his fortune. Nor were there any of the Roman commanders, how much soever they had been enraged at him before, but relented when they came to the sight of him. Above all the rest Titus's own valour, and Josephus's own patience under his afflictions, made him pity him as did also the commiseration of his age, when he recalled to mind that but a little while ago he was fighting, but lay now in the hands of his enemies, which made him consider the power of fortune, and how quick is the turn of affairs in war, and how no state of men is sure: for which reason he then made a great many more to be of the same pitiful temper with himself, and induced them to commiserate Josephus. He was also of great weight in persuading his father to preserve him. However, Vespasian gave strict orders that he should be kept with great caution as though he would in a very little time, send him to Nero.

9. When Josephus heard him give these orders, he said, that he had somewhat in his mind that he would willingly say to himself alone. When therefore they were all ordered to withdraw, excepting Titus and two of their friends, he said, "Thou, "O Vespasian, thinkest no more than that thou hast taken Josephus himself captive, but I come to thee as a messenger of "greater tidings; for had not I been sent by God to thee, I "knew what was the * law of the Jews in this case, and how "it becomes generals to die. Dost thou send me to Nero? "For why? Are Nero's successors till they come to thee still "alive? Thou, O Vespasian, art Cæsar, and emperor, thou, "and this thy son. Bind me now still faster, and keep me "for thyself, for thou, O Cæsar, are not only lord over me, but "over the land and the sea, and all mankind; and certainly I "deserve to be kept in closer custody than I now am in, in order to be punished, if I rashly affirm any thing of God." When he had said this, Vespasian at present did not believe him, but supposed that Josephus said this, as a cunning trick,

* I do not know where to find the law of Moses here mentioned by Josephus, and afterwards by Eleazer, B. VII. ch. viii. sect. 7. Vol. IV. and almost implied in B. I. ch. xiii. sect. 10. vol. III. by Josephus's commendation of Phasælus for doing so; I mean whereby Jewish generals and people were obliged to kill themselves, rather than go into slavery under heathens. I doubt this would have been no better than *self-murder;* and I believe it was rather some vain doctrine, or interpretation of the rigid Pharisees, or Essens, or Herodians, than a just consequence from any law of God delivered by Moses.

in order to his own preservation; but in a little time he was convinced, and believed what he said to be true, God himself erecting his expectations, so as to think of obtaining the empire, and by other signs foreshewing his advancement. He also found Josephus to have spoken truth on other occasions; for one of those friends that were present at that secret conference, said to Josephus, "I cannot but wonder how thou couldest not "foretel to the people of Jotapata, that they should be taken, "nor couldest foretel this captivity which hath happened to "thyself, unless what thou now sayest be a vain thing, in order to avoid the rage that is risen against thyself." To which Josephus replied, "I did foretel to the people of Jotapata that "they would be taken on the forty-seventh day, and that I "should be caught alive by the Romans." Now when Vespasian had inquired of the captives privately about these predictions, he found them to be true, and then he began to believe those that concerned himself. Yet did he not set Josephus at liberty from his bands, but bestowed on him suits of clothes, and other precious gifts; he treated him also in a very obliging manner, and continued so to do, Titus still joining his interest in the honours that were done him.

CHAP. IX.

How Joppa was taken, and Tiberias delivered up.

§ 1. Now Vespasian returned to Ptolemais on the fourth day of the month Panemus, [Tamuz], and from thence he came to Cesarea, which lay by the sea-side. This was a very great city of Judea, and for the greatest part inhabited by Greeks: the citizens here received both the Roman army and its general, with all sorts of acclamations and rejoicings, and this partly out of the good-will they bore to the Romans, but principally out of the hatred they bore to those that were conquered by them; on which account they came clamouring against Josephus in crowds, and desired he might be put to death. But Vespasian passed over this petition concerning him, as offered by the injudicious multitude, with a bare silence. Two of the legions also he placed at Cesarea, that they might there take their winter quarters, as perceiving the city very fit for such a purpose; but he placed the tenth and the fifth at Scythopolis, that he might not distress Cesarea with the entire army. This place was warm, even in winter, as it was suffocating hot in the summer time, by reason of its situation in a plain, and near to the sea of [Galilee.]

2. In the mean time there were gathered together as well

such as had seditiously got out from among their enemies, as those that had escaped out of the demolished cities which were in all a great number, and repaired Joppa, which had been left desolate by Cestius, that it might serve them for a place of refuge; and because the adjoining region had been laid waste in the war, and was not capable of supporting them, they determined to go off to sea. They also built themselves a great many piratical ships, and turned pirates upon the seas near to Syria and Phenicia, and Egypt, and made those seas unnavigable to all men. Now as soon as Vespasian knew of their conspiracy, he sent both footmen and horsemen to Joppa, which was unguarded in the night time; however those that were in it perceived that they should be attacked, and were afraid of it; yet did they not endeavour to keep the Romans out, but fled to their ships, and lay at sea all night out of the reach of their darts.

3. Now Joppa is not naturally an haven, for it ends in a rough shore, where all the rest of it is straight, but the two ends bends towards each other, where there are deep precipices, and great stones that jut out into the sea, and where the chains wherewith Andromeda was bound have left their footsteps, which attest to the antiquity of that fable. But the north wind opposes and beats upon the shore, and dashes mighty waves against the rocks which receives them, and renders the haven more dangerous than the country they had deserted. Now as those people of Joppa were floating about in this sea, in the morning there fell a violent wind upon them, it is called by those that sail there *the black north wind*, and there dashed their ships one against another, and dashed some of them against the rocks, and carried many of them by force, while they strove against the opposite waves into the main sea; for the shore was so rocky, and had so many of the enemy upon it, that they were afraid to come to land; nay, the waves rose so very high, that they drowned them; nor was there any place whither they could fly, nor any way to save themselves, while they were thrust out of the sea, by the violence of the wind, if they staid where they were, and out of the city by the violence of the Romans. And much lamentation there was when the ships dashed against one another, and a terrible noise when they were broken to pieces; and some of the multitude that were in them covered with waves, and so perished, and a great many were embarrassed with shipwrecks. But some of them thought, that to die by their own swords was lighter than by the sea, and so they killed themselves before they were drowned; although the greatest part of them were carried by the waves, and dashed to pieces against the abrupt parts of the rocks, insomuch that the

sea was bloody a long way, and the maritime parts were full of dead bodies, for the Romans came upon those that were carried to the shore, and destroyed them; and the number of the bodies that were thus, thrown out of the sea was four thousand and two hundred. The Romans also took the city without opposition, and utterly demolished it.

4. And thus was Joppa taken twice by the Romans in a little time; but Vespasian, in order to prevent these pirates from coming thither any more, erected a camp there, where the citadel of Joppa had been, and left a body of horse in it, with a few footmen, that these last might stay there and guard the camp, and the horsemen might spoil the country that lay round it, and might destroy the neighbouring villages, and smaller cities, So these troops over-ran the country, as they were ordered to do, and every day cut to pieces, and laid desolate the whole region.

5. But now, when the fate of Jotapata was related at Jerusalem, a great many at the first disbelieved it, on account of the vastness of the calamity, and because they had no eye-witness to attest the truth of what was related about it: for not one person was saved to be a messenger of that news, but a fame was spread abroad at random that the city was taken, as such fame usually spreads bad news about. However, the truth was known by degrees, from the places near Jotapata, and appeared to all to be too true. Yet were there fictitious stories added to what was really done; for it was reported that Josephus was slain at the taking of the city, which piece of news filled Jerusalem full of sorrow. In every house also, and among all to whom any of the slain were allied, there was a lamentation for them; but the mourning for the commander was a public one, and some mourned for those that had lived with them, others for their kindred, others for their friends, and others for their brethren, but all mourned for Josephus; insomuch that the lamentation did not cease in the city before the thirtieth day, and a great many hired * mourners, with their pipes, who should begin the melancholy ditties for them.

6. But as the truth came out in time, it appeared how the affairs of Jotapata really stood; yet was it found that the death of Josephus was a fiction; and when they understood that he was alive, and was among the Romans, and that the command-

* These public mourners, hired upon the supposed death of Josephus, and the real death of many more, illustrate some passages in the Bible, which suppose the same custom, as Mat. xi. 17. where the reader may consult the notes of Grotius.

ers treated him at another rate than they treated captives, they were as vehemently angry at him now, as they had shewed their good-will before, when he appeared to have been dead. He was also abused by some as having been a coward, and by others as a deserter; and the city was full of indignation at him; and of reproaches cast upon him; their rage was also aggravated by their afflictions, and more inflamed by their ill success; and what usually becomes an occasion of caution to wise men, I mean affliction, became a spur to them to venture on farther calamities, and the end of one misery became still the beginning of another; they therefore resolved to fall on the Romans the more vehemently, as resolving to be revenged on him in revenging themselves on the Romans. And this was the state of Jerusalem as to the troubles which now came upon it.

7. But Vespasian, in order to see the kingdom of Agrippa, while the king himself persuaded him so to do, (partly in order to his treating the general and his army in the best and most splendid manner his private affairs would enable him to do, and partly that he might, by their means, correct such things as were amiss in his government), he removed from that Cesarea which was by the sea side, and went to that which is called * Cesarea Philippi, and there he refreshed his army for twenty days, and was himself feasted by king Agrippa, where he also returned public thanks to God for the good success he had had in his undertakings. But as soon as he was informed that Tiberias was fond of innovations, and that Taricheæ had revolted, both which cities were parts of the kingdom of Agrippa, and was satisfied within himself that the Jews were every where perverted [from their obedience to their governors], he thought it seasonable to make an expedition against these cities, and that for the sake of Agrippa, and in order to bring his cities to reason. So he sent away his son Titus to [the other] Cesarea, that he might bring the army that lay there to Scythopolis, which is the largest city of Decapolis, and in the neighbourhood of Tiberias, whither he came, and there he awaited for his son. He then came with three legions, and pitched his camp thirty furlongs off Tiberias, at a certain station easily seen by the innovators, it is named Senabris. He also sent Valerian, a decurion, with fifty horsemen, to speak peaceably to those that were in the city, and to exhort them to give him assurances of their fidelity; for he had heard that the people were desirous of peace, but were obliged by some of the seditious part to join with them, and so were forced to fight for them. When Valerian had

* Of this Cesarea Philippi (twice mentioned in our New Testamant, Mat. xvi. 13. Mark viii. 27.) there are coins still extant, as Spanheim here informs us.

marched up to the place, and was near the wall, he alighted off his horse, and made those that were with him do the same, that they might not be thought to come to skirmish with them: but before they could come to a discourse one with another, the most potent men among the seditious made a sally upon them armed, their leader was one whose name was Jesus, the son of Shaphat, the principal head of a band of robbers. Now Valerian, neither thinking it safe to fight contrary to the commands of the general, though he were secure of a victory, and knowing that it was a very hazardous undertaking for a few to fight with many, for those that were unprovided to fight those that were ready, and being on other accounts surprised at this unexpected onset of the Jews, he ran away on foot, as did five of the rest in like manner, and left their horses behind them; which horses Jesus led away into the city, and rejoiced as if they had taken them in battle and not by treachery.

8. Now the seniors of the people, and such as were of principal authority among them, fearing what would be the issue of this matter, fled to the camp of the Romans: they then took their king along with them, and fell down before Vespasian, to supplicate his favour, and besought him not to overlook them, nor to impute the madness of a few to a whole city, to spare a people that have been ever civil and obliging to the Romans; but to bring the authors of this revolt to due punishment, who had hitherto so watched them, that though they were zealous to give them the security of their right hands of a long time, yet could they not accomplish the same. With these supplications the general complied, although he were very angry at the whole city about the carrying off his horses, and this because he saw that Agrippa was under a great concern for them. So when Vespasian and Agrippa had accepted of their right hands by way of security, Jesus and his party thought it not safe for them to continue at Tiberias, so they ran away to Taricheæ. The next day Vespasian sent Trajan before with some horsemen to the citadel, to make trial of the multitude, whether they were all disposed for peace; and as soon as he knew that the people were of the same mind with the petitioners, he took his army, and went to the city; upon which the citizens opened to him their gates, and met him with acclamations of joy, and called him their saviour and benefactor. But as the army was a great while in getting in at the gates, they were so narrow, Vespasian commanded the south wall to be broken down, and so made a broad passage for their entrance. However, he charged them to abstain from rapine and injustice, in order to gratify the king; and on his account spared the rest of the wall, while the king undertook for them that they should continue [faithful to the

Romans] for the time to come. And thus did he restore this city to a quiet state, after it had been grievously afflicted by the sedition.

CHAP. X.

How Tarichea was taken. A description of the river Jordan, and of the country of Gennesareth.

§ 1. AND now Vespasian pitched his camp between this city and Taricheæ, but fortified his camp more strongly, as suspecting that he should be forced to stay there, and have a long war; for all the innovators had gotten together at Taricheæ, as relying upon the strength of the city, and on the lake that lay by it. This lake is called by the people of the country *the lake of Gennesareth.* The city itself is situated like Tiberias, at the bottom of a mountain, and on those sides which are not washed by the sea, had been strongly fortified by Josephus, though not so strongly as Tiberias; for the wall of Tiberias had been built at the beginning of the Jews revolt, when he had great plenty of money, and great power, but Taricheæ partook only the remains of that liberality. Yet had they a great number of ships gotten ready upon the lake, that, in case they were beaten at land, they might retire to them, and they were so fitted up, that they might undertake a sea-fight also. But as the Romans were building a wall about their camp, Jesus and his party were neither affrighted at their number, nor at the good order they were in, but made a sally upon them, and at the very first onset the builders of the wall were dispersed, and these pulled what little they had before built to pieces; but as soon as they saw the armed men getting together, and before they had suffered any thing themselves, they retired to their own men. But then the Romans pursued them, and drove them into their ships, where they launched out as far as might give them the opportunity of reaching the Romans with what they threw at them, and then cast anchor, and brought their ships close, as in a line of battle, and thence fought the enemy from the sea, who were themselves at land. But Vespasian hearing that a great multitude of them were gotten together in the plain that was before the city, he thereupon sent his son, with six hundred chosen horsemen to disperse them.

2. But when Titus perceived that the enemy was very numerous, he sent to his father, and informed him, that he should want more forces. But as he saw a great many of the horsemen eager to fight, and that before any succours should come to them, and that yet some of them were privately under a sort of

consternation at the multitude of the Jews, he stood in a place whence he might be heard, and said to them, "My brave Romans! for it is right for me to put you in mind of what nation you are, in the beginning of my speech, that so you may not be ignorant who you are, and who they are against whom we are going to fight. For as to us, Romans, no part of the habitable earth hath been able to escape our hands hitherto; but as for the Jews, that I may speak of them too, though they have been already beaten, yet do they not give up the cause; and a sad thing it would be for us to grow weary under good success, when they bear up under their misfortunes. As to the alacrity which you shew publicly, I see it, and rejoice at it; yet am I afraid lest the multitude of the enemy should bring a concealed fright upon some of you: let such an one consider again, who we are that are to fight; and who those are against whom we are to fight. Now these Jews, though they be very bold and great despisers of death, are but a disorderly body, and unskilful in war, and may rather be called a rout than an army; while I need say nothing of our skill and our good order; for this is the reason why we Romans alone are exercised for war in time of peace, that we may not think of number for number, when we come to fight with our enemies: for what advantage should we reap for our continual sort of warfare, if we must still be equal in number to such as have not been used to war? Consider farther, that you are to have a conflict with men in effect unarmed, while you are well armed; with footmen, while you are horsemen; with those that have no good general, while you have one; and as these advantages make you in effect manifold more than you are, so do their disadvantages mightily diminish their number. Now it is not the multitude of men, though they be soldiers, that manages wars with success, but it is their bravery that does it, though they be but a few; for a few are easily set in battle array, and can easily assist one another, while over numerous armies are more hurt by themselves than by their enemies. It is boldness and rashness, the effects of madness, that conduct the Jews. Those passions indeed make a great figure when they succeed, but are quite extinguished upon the least ill success, but we are led on by courage, and obedience, and fortitude, which shews itself indeed in our good fortune, but still does not for ever desert us in our ill fortune. Nay, indeed, your fighting is to be on greater motives than those of the Jews; for although they run the hazard of war for liberty, and for their country, yet what can be a greater motive to us than glory? and that it may never be said, that after we have got dominion of the

"habitable earth, the Jews are able to confront us. We must "also reflect upon this, that there is no fear of our suffer-"ing any incurable disaster in the present case; for those that "are ready to assist us are many, and at hand also: yet is it in "our power to seize upon this victory ourselves, and I think "we ought to prevent the coming of those my father is sending "to us for our assistance, that our success may be peculiar to our-"selves, and of greater reputation to us. And I cannot but think "this an opportunity wherein my father and I, and you shall "be all put to the trial, whether he be worthy of his former "glorious performances, whether I be his son in reality, and "whether you be really my soldiers: for it is usual for my "father to conquer; and for myself I should not bear the thoughts "of returning to him if I were once taken by the enemy. And "how will you be able to avoid being ashamed, if you do not "shew equal courage with your commander, when he goes be-"fore you into danger? For you know very well that I shall "go into the danger first, and make the first attack upon the "enemy. Do not you therefore desert me, but persuade your-"selves that God will be assisting to my onset. Know this al-"so before we begin, that we shall now have better success than "we should have, if we were to fight at a distance."

3. As Titus was saying this, an extraordinary fury fell upon the men; and as Trajan was already come before the fight began, with four hundred horsemen, they were uneasy at it, because the reputation of the victory would be diminished by being common to so many. Vespasian had also sent both Antonius and Silo, with two thousand archers, and had given it them in charge to seize upon the mountain that was over against the city, and repel those that were upon the wall; which archers did as they were commanded, and prevented those that attempted to assist them that way. And now Titus made his own horse march first against the enemy, as did the others with a great noise after him, and extended themselves upon the plain as wide as the enemy which confronted them, by which means they appeared much more numerous than they really were. Now the Jews, although they were surprised at their onset, and at their good order, made resistance against their attacks, for a little while; but when they were pricked with their long poles, and overborne by the violent noise of the horsemen, they came to be trampled under their feet; many also of them were slain on every side, which made them disperse themselves and run to the city, as fast as every one of them were able. So Titus pressed upon the hindmost, and slew them; and of the rest some he fell upon as they stood on heaps, and some he prevented, and met them in the mouth, and run them through; many also he

leaped upon as they fell one upon another, and trod them down and cut off all the retreat they had to the wall, and turned them back into the plain, till at last they forced a passage by their multitude, and got away, and ran into the city.

4. But now there fell out a terrible sedition among them within the city; for the inhabitants themselves, who had possessions there, and to whom the city belonged, were not disposed to fight from the very beginning; and not the less so, because they had been beaten: but the foreigners, which were very numerous, would force them to fight so much the more, insomuch that there was a clamour and a tumult among them, as all mutually angry one at another. And when Titus heard this tumult, for he was not far from the wall, he cried out, "Fellow soldiers, now "is the time; and why do we make any delay, when God is "giving up the Jews to us? Take the victory which is given "you: do not you hear what a noise they make? Those that "have escaped our hands are in an uproar against one another, "We have the city if we make haste: but besides haste we "must undergo some labour, and use some courage: for no "great things uses to be accomplished without danger: accord-"ingly we must not only prevent their uniting again, which "necessity will soon compel them to do, but we must also pre-"vent the coming of our own men to our assistance, that as "few as we are we may conquer so great a multitude, and may "ourselves alone take the city."

5. As soon as ever Titus had said this, he leaped upon his horse, and rode apace down to the lake; by which lake he marched, and entered into the city the first of them all, as did the others soon after him. Hereupon those that were upon the walls were seized with a terror at the boldness of the attempt, nor durst any one venture to fight with him, or to hinder him; so they left guarding the city, and some of those that were about Jesus fled over the country, while others of them ran down to the lake, and met the enemy in the teeth, and some were slain as they were getting up into the ships, but others of them, as they attempted to overtake those that were already gone aboard. There was also a great slaughter made in the city, while those foreigners that had not fled away already, made opposition; but the natural inhabitants were killed without fighting: for in hopes of Titus's giving them his right hand for their security, and out of consciousness that they had not given any consent to the war, they avoided fighting, till Titus had slain the authors of this revolt and then put a stop to any farther slaughters out of commisseration of these inhabitants of the place. But for those that had fled to the lake, upon seeing the city taken, they sailed as far as they possibly could from the enemy.

6. Hereupon Titus sent one of his horsemen to his father, and let him know the good news of what he had done: at which, as was natural, he was very joyful, both on account of the courage and glorious actions of his son; for he thought now the greatest part of the war was over. He then came thither himself, and set men to guard the city, and gave them command to take care that nobody got privately out of it, but to kill such as attempted so to do. And on the next day he went down to the lake, and commanded that vessels should be fitted up in order to pursue those that had escaped in the ships. These vessels were quickly gotten ready accordingly, because there was great plenty of materials, and a great number of artificers also.

7. Now this lake of *Gennesareth* is so called from the country adjoining to it. Its breadth is forty furlongs, and its length one hundred and forty; its waters are sweet, and very agreeable for drinking, for they are finer than the thick waters of other fens; the lake is also pure, and on every side ends directly at the shores, and at the sand; it is also of a temperate nature when you draw it up, and of a more gentle nature than river or fountain water, and yet always cooler than one could expect in so diffuse a place as this is: now when this water is kept in the open air, it is as cold as that snow which the country people are accustomed to make by night in summer. There are several kinds of fish in it, different both to the taste and the sight from those elsewhere. It is divided into two parts by the river Jordan. Now Panium is thought to be the fountain of Jordan, but in reality is carried thither after an occult manner from the place called *Philia*: this place lies as you go up to Trachonitis, and is an hundred and twenty furlongs from Cesarea, and is not far out of the road on the right hand; and indeed it hath its name of Phiala [vial or bowl] very justly from the roundness of its circumference, as being round like a wheel; its water continues always up to its edges, without either sinking or running over. And as this origin of Jordan was formerly not known, it was discovered so to be when Philip was tetrarch of Trachonitis: for he had chaff thrown into Phiala, and it was found at Panium, where the ancients thought the fountain head of the river was, whither it had been therefore carried [by the waters]. As for Panium itself, its natural beauty had been improved by the royal liberality of Agrippa, and adorned at his expenses. Now Jordan's visible stream arises from this cavern, and divides the marshes and fens of the lake Semehonitis; when it hath run another hundred and twenty furlongs, it first passes by the city Julias, and then passes through the middle of the lake Gennesareth; after which it runs a long way over a desert, and then makes its exit into the lake Asphaltitis.

8. The country also that lies over against this lake hath the same name of *Gennesareth;* its nature is wonderful as well as its beauty; its soil is so fruitful that all sorts of trees can grow upon it, and the inhabitants accordingly plant all sorts of trees there; for the temper of the air is so well mixed that it agrees very well with those several sorts, particularly walnuts, which require the coldest air, flourish there in vast plenty; there are palm trees also, which grow best in hot air; fig trees also and olives grow near them, which yet require an air that is more temperate. One may call this place the ambition of nature, where it forces those plants that are naturally enemies to one another to agree together; it is a happy contention of the seasons; as if every one of them laid claim to this country; for it not only nourishes different sorts of autumnal fruit beyond mens expectation, but preserves them a great while; it supplies men with the principal fruits, with grapes * and figs continually, during ten months of the year, and the rest of the fruits as they become ripe together through the whole year: for besides the good temperature of the air, it is also watered from a most fertile fountain. The people of the country call it *Capharnaum:* some have thought it to be a vein of the Nile, because it produces the Coracin fish as well as that lake does which is near to Alexandria. The length of this country extends itself along the banks of this lake that bears the same name, for thirty furlongs, and is in breadth twenty. And this is the nature of that place.

9. But now, when the vessels were gotten ready, Vespasian put upon ship-board as many of his forces as he thought sufficient to be too hard for those that were upon the lake, and set sail after them. Now these which were driven into the lake, could neither fly to the land, where all was in their enemies hand, and in war against them; nor could they fight upon the level by sea, for their ships were small and fitted only for piracy; they were too weak to fight with Vespasian's vessels, and the mariners that were in them were so few, that they were afraid to come near the Romans, who attacked them in great numbers. However, as they sailed round about the vessels, and sometimes as they came near them, they threw stones at the Romans when

* It may be worth our while to observe here; that near this lake of Gennesareth grapes and figs hang on the trees ten months of the year. We may observe also, that in Cyril of Jerusalem, Catechis. xviii. sect. 3. which was delivered not long before Easter, there were no fresh leaves of fig trees, nor bunches of fresh grapes in Judea; so that when St. Mark says, ch. xi. ver. 13. that our Saviour, soon after the same time of the year, came and "found leaves" on a fig-tree near Jerusalem, but "no figs, because the time of" new "figs" ripening "was not yet," he says very true; nor were they therefore other than old leaves which our Saviour saw, and old figs which he expected, and which even with us commonly hang on the trees all winter long.

they were a good way off, or came closer and fought them; yet did they receive the greatest harm themselves in both cases. As for the stones they threw at the Romans, they only made a sound one after another, for they threw them against such as were in their armour, while the Roman darts could reach the Jews themselves; and when they ventured to come near the Romans, they became sufferers themselves before they could do any harm to the other, and were drowned, they and their ships together. As for those that endeavoured to come to an actual fight, the Romans ran many of them through with their long poles. Sometimes the Romans leaped into their ships with swords in their hands, and slew them; but when some of them met the vessels, the Romans caught them by the middle, and destroyed at once their ships and themselves who were taken in them. And for such as were drowning in the sea, if they lifted their heads up above the water, they were either killed by darts, or caught by the vessels; but if, in the desperate case they were in, they attempted to swim to the enemies, the Romans cut off either their heads or their hands; and indeed they were destroyed after various manners every where, till the rest being put to flight, were forced to get upon the land, while the vessels encompassed them about [on the sea]: but as many of these were repulsed when they were getting ashore, they were killed by the darts upon the lake; and the Romans leaped out of their vessels, and destroyed a great many more upon the land: one might then see the lake all bloody, and full of dead bodies, for not one of them escaped. And a terrible stink, and a very sad sight there was on the following days over that country; for as for the shores, they were full of shipwrecks, and of dead bodies all swelled; and as the dead bodies were inflamed by the sun, and putrified, they corrupted the air, insomuch that the misery was not only the object of commiseration to the Jews, but to those that hated them, and had been the authors of that misery. This was the upshot of the sea fight. The number of the slain, including those that were killed in the city before, was six thousand and five hundred.

10. After this fight was over, Vespasian sat upon his tribunal at Taricheæ, in order to distinguish the foreigners from the old inhabitants; for those foreigners appeared to have begun the war. So he deliberated with the other commanders, whether he ought to save those old inhabitants or not. And when those commanders alleged that the dismission of them would be to his own disadvantage, because, when they were once set at liberty, they would not be at rest, since they would be people destitute of proper habitations and would be able to compel such as they fled to, to fight against us, Vespasian acknowledged that

they did not deserve to be saved, and that if they had leave given them to fly away, they would make use of it against those that gave them that leave. But still he considered with himself*, after what manner they should be slain; for if he had them slain there, he suspected the people of the country would thereby become his enemies; for that to be sure they would never bear it, that so many that had been supplicants to him should be killed, and to offer violence to them, after he had given them assurances of their lives, he could not himself bear to do it. However, his friends were too hard for him, and pretended that nothing against the Jews could be any impiety, and that he ought to prefer what was profitable before what was fit to be done, where both could not be consistent. So he gave them an ambiguous liberty to do as they advised, and permitted the prisoners to go along no other road than that which led to Tiberias only. So they readily believed what they desired to be true, and went along securely, with their effects, the way which was allowed them, while the Romans siezed upon all the road that led to Tiberias, that none of them might go out of it, and shut them up in the city. Then came Vespasian, and ordered them all to stand in the stadium, and commanded them to kill the old men together with the others that were useless, which were in number a thousand and two hundred. Out of the young men, he chose six thousand of the strongest, and sent them to Nero, to dig thro' the Isthmus, and sold the remainder for slaves, being thirty thousand and four hundred, besides such as he made a present of to Agrippa; for as to those that belonged to his kingdom, he gave him leave to do what he pleased with them: however, the king sold these also for slaves; but for the rest of the multitude, who were Trachonites, and Gaulanites, and of Hippos, and some of Gadara, the greatest part of them were seditious persons and fugitives, who were of such shameful characters, that they preferred war before peace. These prisoners were taken on the eight day of the month Gorpieus [Elul].

* This is the most cruel and barbarous action that Vespasian ever did in this whole war, as he did it with great reluctance also. It was done both after public assurance given of sparing the prisoners lives, and when all knew and confessed that these prisoners were no way guilty of any sedition against the Romans. Nor indeed did Titus now give his consent, so far as appears, nor ever act of himself so barbarously; nay, soon after this, Titus grew quite weary of shedding blood, and of punishing the innocent with the guilty, and gave the people of Gischala leave to keep the Jewish Sabbath, B. IV. ch. ii. § 3, 5. in the midst of their siege. Nor was Vespasian disposed to do what he did, till his officers persuaded him, and that from two principal topics, viz. that nothing could be unjust that was done against Jews, and that when both cannot be consistent, *advantage* must prevail over *justice*. Admirable court doctrines these.

BOOK IV.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ABOUT ONE YEAR.

[FROM THE SIEGE OF GAMALA TO THE COMING OF TITUS TO BESIEGE JERUSALEM.]

CHAP. I.

The siege and taking of Gamala.

§ 1. Now all those Galileans who, after the taking of Jotapata, had revolted from the Romans, did upon the conquest of Tarichea deliver themselves up to them again. And the Romans received all the fortresses and the cities, excepting Gischala and those that had been seized upon Mount Tabor; Gamala also, which is a city over against Tarichea, but on the other side of the lake conspired with them. This city lay upon the borders of Agrippa's kingdom, as also did Sogana and Seleucia. And these were both parts of Gaulonitis, for Sogana was a part of that called the upper Gaulonitis, as was Gamala of the lower; while Seleucia was situated at the lake Semechonitis, which lake is thirty furlongs in breadth, and sixty in length; its marshes reach as far as the place Daphne, which in other respects is a delicious place, and hath such fountains as supply water to what is called Little Jordan, under the temple of the * golden calf, where it is sent into great Jordan. Now Agrippa had united Sogana and Seleucia by leagues to himself, at the very beginning of the revolt from the Romans; yet did not Gamala accede to them, but relied upon the difficulty of the place, which was greater than that of Jotapata, for it was situated upon a rough ridge of a high mountain, with a kind of neck in the middle; where it begins to ascend, it lengthens itself, and declines as much downward before as behind, insomuch that it is like a camel in figure, from whence it is so named, although the people of the country do not pronounce it accurately: both on the side and the face there are abrupt parts divided from the rest, and ending in vast deep valleys; yet are the parts behind, where

* Here we have the exact situation of one of Jeroboam's *golden calves*, at the exit of little Jordan, into great Jordan, near a place called Daphne, but of old Dan. See the note on Antiq. B. VIII. ch. viii. sect 2. Vol. I. But Reland suspects, that even here we should read Dan instead of Daphne, there being no where else any mention of a place called Daphne hereabouts.

they are joined to the mountain, somewhat easier of ascent than the other; but then the people belonging to the place have cut an oblique ditch here, and made that hard to be ascended also. On its acclivity, which is straight, houses are built, and those very thick and close to one another. The city also hangs so strangely, that it looks as if it would fall down upon itself, so sharp is it at the top. It is exposed to the south, and its southern mount, which reaches to an immense heighth, was in the nature of a citadel to the city; and above that was a precipice, not walled about, but extending itself to an immense depth. There was also a spring of water within the wall, at the utmost limits of the city.

2. As the city was naturally hard to be taken, so had Josephus, by building a wall about it, made it still stronger, as also by ditches and mines underground. The people that were in it were made more bold by the nature of the place, than the people of Jotapata had been, but it had much fewer fighting men in it; and they had such a confidence in the situation of the place, that they thought the enemy could not be too many for them: for the city had been filled with those that had fled to it for safety, on account of its strength; on which account they had been able to resist those whom Agrippa sent to besiege it for seven months together.

3. But Vespasian removed from Emmaus, where he had last pitched his camp before the city Tiberias (now Emmaus, if it be interpreted, may be rendered *a warm bath*, for therein is a spring of warm water, useful for healing), and came to Gamala; yet was its situation such, that he was not able to encompass it all round with soldiers to watch it; but where the places were practicable, he sent men to watch it; and seized upon that mountain which was over it. And as the legions, according to their usual custom, were fortifying their camp upon that mountain he began to cast up banks at the bottom, at the part towards the east, where the highest tower of the whole city was, and where the fifteenth legion pitched their camp; while the fifth legion did duty over against the midst of the city, and whilst the tenth legion filled up the ditches and the valleys. Now at this time it was that as king Agrippa was come nigh the walls, and was endeavouring to speak to those that were on the walls, about a surrender, he was hit with a stone on his right elbow by one of the slingers; he was then immediately surrounded with his own men. But the Romans were excited to set about the siege, by their indignation on the king's account, and by their fear on their own account, as concluding that those men would omit no kinds of barbarity against foreigners and enemies, who were so enraged

against one of their own nation, and one that advised them to nothing but what was for their own advantage.

4. Now when the banks were finished, which was done on the sudden, both by the multitude of hands, and by their being accustomed to such work, they brought the machines; but Chares and Joseph, who were the most potent men in the city, set their armed men in order, though already in a fright, because they did not suppose that the city could hold out long, since they had not a sufficient quantity either of water, or of other necessaries. However these their leaders encouraged them, and brought them out upon the wall, and for a while indeed they drove away those that were bringing the machines; but when those machines threw darts and stones at them, they retired into the city; then did the Romans bring battering rams to three several places, and made the wall shake [and fall]. They then poured in over the parts of the wall that were thrown down, with a mighty sound of trumpets and noise of armour, and with a shout of the soldiers, and brake in by force upon those that were in the city; but these men fell upon the Romans for some time, at their first entrance, and prevented their going any farther, and with great courage beat them back; and the Romans were so overpowered by the greater multitude of the people, who beat them on every side, that they were obliged to run into the upper parts of the city. Whereupon the people turned about, and fell upon their enemies, who had attacked them, and thrust them down to the lower parts, and as they were distressed by the narrowness and difficulty of the place, slew them; and as these Romans could neither bear those back that were above them, nor escape the force of their own men that were forcing their way forward, they were compelled to fly into their enemies houses, which were low; but these houses, being thus full of soldiers, whose weight they could not bear, fell down suddenly; and when one house fell, it shook down a great many of those that were under it, as did those do to such as were under them. By this means a vast number of the Romans perished, for they were so terribly distressed, that although they saw the houses subsiding, they were compelled to leap upon the tops of them; so that a great many were ground to powder by these ruins, and a great many of those that got from under them, lost some of their limbs, but still a greater number were suffocated by the dust that arose from those ruins. The people of Gamala supposed this to be an assistance afforded them by God, and without regarding what damage they suffered themselves, they pressed forward, and thrust the enemy upon the tops of their houses, and when they stumbled in the sharp and narrow streets, and were perpetually falling down, they threw their stones or darts at them, and slew

them. Now the very ruins afforded them stones enow, and for iron weapons the dead men of the enemies side afforded them what they wanted; for drawing the swords of those that were dead, they made use of them to dispatch such as were only half dead; nay, there were a great number who, upon their falling down from the tops of the houses, stabbed themselves, and died after that manner; nor indeed was it easy for those that were driven back, to fly away, for they were so unacquainted with the ways, and the dust was so thick, that they wandered about without knowing one another, and fell down dead among the crowd.

5. Those therefore that were able to find the ways out of the city retired. But now Vespasian always staid among those that were hard set; for he was deeply affected with seeing the ruins of the city falling upon his army, and forgot to take care of his own preservation. He went up gradually towards the highest parts of the city before he was aware, and was left in the midst of dangers, having only a very few with him; for even his son Titus was not with him at that time, having been then sent into Syria to Mucianus. However, he thought it not safe to fly, nor did he esteem it a fit thing for him to do; but calling to mind the actions he had done from his youth, and recollecting his courage, as if he had been excited by a divine fury, he covered himself, and those that were with him with their shields, and formed a testudo over both their bodies and their armour, and bore up against the enemy's attack, who came running down from the top of the city; and without shewing any dread to the multitude of the men or of their darts, he endured all, until the enemy took notice of that divine courage that was within him, and remitted of their attacks; and when they pressed less zealously upon him, he retired, though without shewing his back to them till he was gotten out of the walls of the city. Now a great number of the Romans fell in this battle, among whom was Ebutius, the decurion, a man who appeared not only in this engagement, wherein he fell, but every where, and in former engagements, to be of the truest courage, and one that had done very great mischief to the Jews. But there was a centurion whose name was *Gallus*, who during this disorder being encompassed about, he and ten other soldiers privately crept into the house of a certain person, where he heard them talking at supper what the people intended to do against the Romans, or about themselves (for both the man himself and those with him were Syrians). So he got up in the night time, and cut all their throats, and escaped, together with his soldiers, to the Romans.

6. And now Vespasian comforted his army, which was much dejected by reflecting on their ill success, and because they had

never before fallen into such a calamity, and besides this, because they were greatly ashamed that they had left their general alone in great dangers. As to what concerned himself he avoided to say any thing, that he might by no means seem to complain of it; but he said, That "we ought to bear manfully "what usually falls out in war, and this, by considering what "the nature of war is, and how it can never be that we must "conquer without bloodshed on our own side; for there stands "about us that fortune which is of its own nature mutable; "that while they had killed so many ten thousands of the Jews, "they had now paid their small share of the reckoning so late; "and as it is the part of weak people to be too much puffed up "with good success, so is it the part of cowards to be too much "affrighted at that which is ill; for the change from the one to "the other is sudden on both sides; and he is the best warrior "who is of a sober mind under misfortunes, that he may continue in that temper, and cheerfully recover what had been "lost formerly; and as for what had now happened, it was "neither owing to their own effeminacy, nor to the valour of "the Jews, but the difficulty of the place was the occasion of "their advantage, and of our disappointment. Upon reflecting "on which matter one might blame your zeal as perfectly ungovernable; for when the enemy had retired to their highest "fastnesses, you ought to have restrained yourselves, and not, "by presenting yourselves at the top of the city, to be exposed "to dangers; but upon your having obtained the lower parts "of the city, you ought to have provoked those that had retired "thither to a safe and settled battle; whereas, in rushing so "hastily upon victory, you take no care of your safety. But "this incautiousness in war,; and this madness of zeal is not a "Roman maxim, while we perform all that we attempt by "skill and good order, that procedure is the part of barbarians, "and is what the Jews chiefly support themselves by. We "ought therefore to return to our own virtue, and to be rather "angry than any longer dejected at this unlucky misfortune, "and let every one seek for his own consolation from his own "hand; for by this means he will avenge those that have been "destroyed, and punish those that have killed them. For myself, I will endeavour, as I have now done, to go first before "you against your enemies in every engagement, and to be the "last that retires from it."

7. So Vespasian encouraged his army by this speech: but for the people of Gamala, it happened that they took courage for a little while, upon such great and unaccountable success as they had had. But when they considered with themselves, that they had now no hopes of any terms of accommodation, and reflecting

upon it that they could not get away, and that their provisions began already to be short, they were exceedingly cast down and their courage failed them; yet did they not neglect what might be for their preservation, so far as they were able, but the most courageous among them guarded those parts of the wall that were beaten down, while the more infirm did the same to the rest of the wall that still remained round the city. And as the Romans raised their banks, and attempted to get into the city a second time, a great many of them fled out of the city through impracticable vallies, where no guards were placed, as also, through subterraneous caverns: while those that were afraid of being caught, and for that reason staid in the city, perished for want of food; for what food they had was brought together from all quarters, and reserved for the fighting men.

8. And these were the hard circumstances that the people of Gamala were in. But now Vespasian went about other work by the by, during this siege, and that was to subdue those that had seized upon mount Tabor, a place that lies in the middle between the great plain and Scythopolis, whose top is elevated as high as * thirty furlongs, and is hardly to be ascended on its north side; its top is a plain of twenty-six furlongs, and all encompassed with a wall. Now, Josephus erected this so long a wall in forty days time, and furnished it with other materials, and with water from below, for the inhabitants only made use of rain water; as therefore, there was a great multitude of people gotten together upon this mountain, Vespasian sent Placidus, with six hundred horsemen thither. Now, as it was impossible for him to ascend the mountain, he invited many of them to peace, by the offer of his right hand for their security and of his intercession for them. Accordingly they came down, but with a treacherous design, as well he had the like treacherous design upon them on the other side; for Placidus spoke

* These numbers in Josephus of 30 furlongs ascent to the top of mount Tabor, whether we estimate it by the winding and gradual, or by the perpendicular altitude, and of 26 furlongs circumference upon the top, as also 15 furlongs for this ascent in Polybius, with Geminus's perpendicular altitude of almost 14 furlongs, here noted by Dr. Hudson, do none of them agree with the authentic testimony of Mr. Maundrell, an eye witness, page 112, who says, he was not an hour in getting up to the top of this mount Tabor, and that the area of the top is an oval of about two furlongs in length, and one in breadth. So I rather suppose Josephus wrote 3 furlongs for the ascent, or altitude, instead of 30; and 6 furlongs for the circumference at the top, instead of 26. Since a mountain of only 3 furlongs perpendicular altitude may easily require near an hour's ascent, and the circumference of an oval of the foregoing quantity is near 6 furlongs. Nor certainly could such a vast circumference as 26 furlongs, or $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles, at that height be encompassed with a wall, including a trench and other fortifications, perhaps those still remaining, ibid. in the small interval of 40 days, as Josephus here says they were by himself.

mildly to them, as aiming to take them, when he got them into the plain; they also came down, as complying with his proposals, but it was in order to fall upon him when he was not aware of it: however, Placidus's stratagem was too hard for theirs; for when the Jews began to fight, he pretended to run away, and when they were in pursuit of the Romans, he enticed them a great way along the plain, and then made his horsemen turn back; whereupon he beat them, and slew a great number of them, and cut off the retreat of the rest of the multitude, and hindered their return. So they left Tabor, and fled to Jerusalem, while the people of the country came to terms with him, for their water failed them, and so they delivered up the mountain and themselves to Placidus.

9. But of the people of Gamala, those that were of the bolder sort fled away and hid themselves, while the more infirm perished by famine; but the men of war sustained the siege till the two and twentieth day of the month Hyperberetus, [Tisri], when three soldiers of the fifteenth legion, about the morning watch, got under an high tower that was near them, and undermined it, without making any noise; nor when they either came to it, which was in the night time, nor when they were under it, did those that guarded it, perceive them. These soldiers then upon their coming avoided making a noise, and when they had rolled away five of its strongest stones, they went away hastily; whereupon the tower fell down on a sudden, with a very great noise, and its guard fell headlong with it; so that those that kept guard at other places, were under such disturbance, that they ran away; the Romans also slew many of those that ventured to oppose them, among whom was Joseph, who was slain by a dart, as he was running away over that part of the wall that was broken down; but as those that were in the city were greatly affrighted at the noise, they ran hither and thither, and a great consternation fell upon them, as though all the enemy had fallen in at once upon them. Then it was that Chares, who was ill, and under the physicians hands, gave up the ghost, the fear he was in greatly contributing to make his distemper fatal to him. But the Romans so well remembered their former ill success, that they did not enter the city till the three and twentieth day of the forementioned month.

10. At which time Titus, who was now returned, out of the indication he had at the destructions the Romans had undergone while he was absent, took two hundred chosen horsemen, and some footmen with them, and entered without noise into the city. Now, as the watch perceived that he was coming, they made a noise, and betook themselves to their arms; and as that his entrance was presently known to those that were in the city some of them caught hold of their children and their wives,

and drew them after them, and fled away to the citadel, with lamentations and cries, while others of them went to meet Titus, and were killed perpetually; but so many of them as were hindered from running up to the citadel, not knowing what in the world to do, fell among the Roman guards, while the groans of those that were killed, were prodigiously great every where, and the blood ran down over all the lower parts of the city, from the upper. But then Vespasian himself came to his assistance against those that had fled to the citadel, and brought his whole army with him; now this upper part of the city was every way rocky, and difficult of ascent, and elevated to a vast altitude, and very full of people on all sides, and encompassed with precipices, whereby the Jews cut off those that came up to them, and did much mischief to others by their darts, and the large stones which they rolled down upon them, while they were themselves so high that the enemies darts could hardly reach them. However, there arose such a divine storm against them as was instrumental to their destruction; this carried the Roman darts upon them, and made those which they threw return back, and drove them obliquely away from them: nor could the Jews indeed stand upon their precipices, by reason of the violence of the wind, having nothing that was stable to stand upon, nor could they see those that were ascending up to them; so the Romans got up and surrounded them, and some they slew before they could defend themselves, and others as they were delivering up themselves; and the remembrance of those that were slain at their former entrance into the city increased their rage against them now: a great number also of those that were surrounded on every side, and despaired of escaping, threw their children and their wives, and themselves also down the precipices, into the valley beneath, which, near the citadel, had been dug hollow to a vast depth; but so it happened, that the anger of the Romans appeared not to be so extravagant, as was the madness of those that were now taken, while the Romans slew but four thousand, whereas the number of those that had thrown themselves down was found to be five thousand: nor did any one escape except two women, who were the daughters of Philip, and Philip himself was the son of a certain eminent man called Jasimus, who had been general of king Agrippa's army; and these did therefore escape, because they lay concealed from the rage of the Romans, when the city was taken; for otherwise they spared not so much as the infants; of which many were flung down by them from the citadel. And thus was Gamala taken on the three and twentieth day of the month Hyperberetus, [Tisri], whereas the city had first revolted on the four and twentieth day of the moth Gorpieus, [Elul].

CHAP. II.

The surrender of Gischala; when John flies away from it to Jerusalem.

§ 1. Now no place of Galilee remained to be taken but the small city of Gischala, whose multitude yet were desirous of peace; for they were generally husbandmen, and always applied themselves to cultivate the fruits of the earth. However, there were a geart number that belonged to a band of robbers, that were already corrupted, and had crept in among them, and some of the governing part of the citizens were sick of the same distemper. It was John the son of a certain man whose name was Levi, that drew them into this rebellion, and encouraged them in it. He was a cunning knave, and of a temper that could put on various shapes; very rash in expecting great things, and very sagacious in bringing about what he hoped for. It was known to every body that he was fond of war, in order to thrust himself into authority; and the seditious part of the people of Gischala were under his management, by whose means the populace, who seemed ready to send ambassadors in order to a surrender, waited for the coming of the Romans in battle array. Vespasian sent against them Titus, with a thousand horsemen, but withdrew the tenth legion to Scythopolis, while he returned to Cesarea with the two other legions, that he might allow them to refresh themselves after their long and hard campaign, thinking withal that the plenty which was in those cities would improve their bodies and their spirits, against the difficulties they were to go through afterwards; for he saw there would be occasion for great pains about Jerusalem, which was not yet taken, because it was the royal city, and the principal city of the whole nation, and because those that had run away from the war in other places got altogether thither. It was also naturally strong, and the walls that were built round it made him not a little concerned about it. Moreover, he esteemed the men that were in it to be so courageous and bold, that even without the consideration of the walls, it would be hard to subdue them; for which reason he took care of, and exercised his soldiers before-hand for the work, as they do wrestlers before they begin their undertaking.

2. Now Titus, as he rode up to Gischala, found it would be easy for him to take the city upon the first onset; but knew withal, that if he took it by force, the multitude would be destroyed by the soldiers without mercy. (Now he was already satiated with the shedding of blood, and pitied the major part, who would then perish without distinction, together with the

guilty).—So he was rather desirous the city might be surrendered up to him on terms. Accordingly, when he saw the wall full of those men that were of the corrupted party, he said to them, That "he could not but wonder what it was they depended on, when they alone staid to fight the Romans, after "every other city was taken by them, especially when they "have seen cities much better fortified than theirs is, overthrown by a single attack upon them; while as many as have "intrusted themselves to the security of the Romans' right "hands, which he now offers to them, without regarding their "former insolence, do enjoy their own possessions in safety, "for that while they had hopes of recovering their liberty, "they might be pardoned; but that their continuance still in "their opposition, when they saw that to be impossible, was inexcusable; for that, if they will not comply with such humane offers, and right hands for security, they should have "experience of such a war as would spare nobody, and should "soon be made sensible, that the wall would be but a trifle, "when battered by the Roman machines; in depending on "which, they demonstrate themselves to be the only Galileans "that were no better than arrogant slaves and captives."

3. Now none of the populace durst not only make a reply, but durst not so much as get upon the wall, for it was all taken up by the robbers, who were also the guard at the gates, in order to prevent any of the rest from going out, in order to propose terms of submission, and from receiving any of the horsemen into the city. But John returned Titus this answer, That "for himself he was content to hearken to his proposals, "and that he would either persuade or force those that refused "them. Yet he said, that Titus ought to have such regard to "the Jewish law, as to grant them leave to celebrate that day "which was the seventh day of the week, on which it was unlawful not only to remove their arms, but even to treat of "peace also; and that even the Romans were not ignorant how "the period of the seventh day was among them a cessation "from all labours; and that he who should compel them to "transgress the law about that day would be equally guilty "with those that were compelled to transgress it: and that "this delay could be of no disadvantage to him: for why should "any body think of doing any thing in the night, unless it was "to fly away? which he might prevent by placing his camp "round about them; and that they should think it a great "point gained, if they might not be obliged to transgress the "laws of their country; and that it would be a right thing for "him, who designed to grant them peace, without their expectation of such a favour, to preserve the laws of those

"they saved inviolable." Thus did this man put a trick upon Titus, not so much out of regard to the seventh day as to his own preservation, for he was afraid lest he should be quite deserted, if the city should be taken, and had his hopes of life in that night, and in his flight therein. Now this was the work of God, who therefore preserved this John, that he might bring on the destruction of Jerusalem; as also it was his work that Titus was prevailed with by this pretence for a delay, and that he pitched his camp farther off the city at Cydessa. This Cydessa was a strong Mediterranean village of the Tyrians; which always hated and made war against the Jews; it had also a great number of inhabitants, and was well fortified, which made it a proper place for such as were enemies to the Jewish nation.

4. Now, in the night time, when John saw that there was no Roman guard about the city, he seized the opportunity directly, and, taking with him not only the armed men that were about him, but a considerable number of those that had little to do, together with their families, he fled to Jerusalem. And indeed, though the man was making haste to get away, and was tormented with fears of being a captive, or of losing his life, yet did he prevail with himself to take out of the city along with him a multitude of women and children, as far as twenty-furlongs; but there he left them as he proceeded farther on his journey, where those that were left behind made sad lamentations; for the farther every one of them was come from his own people, the nearer they thought themselves to be to their enemies: They also affrighted themselves with this thought, that those who would carry them into captivity were just at hand, and still turned themselves back at the mere noise they made themselves in this their hasty flight, as if those from whom they fled were just upon them. Many also of them missed their ways, and the earnestness of such as aimed to outgo the rest threw down many of them. And indeed there was a miserable destruction made of the women and children; while some of them took courage to call their husbands and kinsmen back, and to beseech them, with the bitterest lamentations, to stay for them; but John's exhortation, who cried out to them to save themselves, and fly away, prevailed. He said also, that if the Romans should seize upon those whom they left behind they would be revenged on them for it. So this multitude that ran thus away was dispersed abroad, according as each of them was able to run, one faster or slower than another.

5. Now on the next day Titus came to the wall, to make the agreement, whereupon the people opened their gates to him, and came out to him, with their children and wives, and made

acclamations of joy to him, as to one that had been their benefactor, and had delivered the city out of custody; they also informed him of John's flight, and besought him to spare them, and to come in, and bring the rest of those that were for innovations to punishment. But Titus, not so much regarding the supplications of the people, sent part of his horsemen to pursue after John, but they could not overtake him, for he was gotten to Jerusalem before: they also slew six thousand of the women and children who went out with him; but returned back and brought with them almost three thousand. However, Titus was greatly displeased that he had not been able to bring this John, who had deluded him, to punishment; yet he had captives enough, as well as the corrupted part of the city, to satisfy his anger, when it missed of John. So he entered the city in the midst of acclamations of joy; and when he had given orders to the soldiers to pull down a small part of the wall, as of a city taken in war, he repressed those that had disturbed the city, rather by threatenings than by executions; for he thought that many would accuse innocent persons, out of their animosities and quarrels, if he should attempt to distinguish those that were worthy of punishment from the rest; and that it was better to let a guilty person alone in his fears, than to destroy with him any one that did not deserve it; for that probably such an one might be taught prudence, by the fear of the punishment he had deserved, and have a shame upon him for his former offences, when he had been forgiven; but that the punishment of such as have been once put to death could never be retrieved. However, he placed a garrison in the city for its security, by which means he should restrain those that were for innovations, and should leave those that were peaceably disposed in greater security. And thus was all Galilee taken, but this not till after it had cost the Romans much pains before it could be taken by them.

CHAP. III.

Concerning John of Gischala. Concerning the zealots, and the High priest Ananus: as also how the Jews raised seditions one against another [*in Jerusalem.*]

§ 1. Now upon John's entry into Jerusalem the whole body of the people were in an uproar, and ten thousand of them crowded about every one of the fugitives that were come to them, and inquired of them what miseries had happened abroad, when their breath was so short, and hot, and quick, that of itself it declared the great distress they were in; yet did they talk big under their misfortunes, and pretended to say, that they

had not fled away from the Romans, but came thither in order to fight them with less hazard; for that it would be an unreasonable and a fruitless thing for them to expose themselves to desperate hazards about Gischala, and such weak cities, whereas they ought to lay up their weapons and their zeal, and reserve it for their metropolis. But when they related to them the taking of Gischala, and their decent departure, as they pretended, from that place, many of the people understood it to be no better than a flight; and especially when the people were told of those that were made captives, they were in great confusion, and guessed those things to be plain indications that they should be taken also. But for John, he was very little concerned for those whom he had left behind him, but went about among all the people and persuaded them to go to war, by the hopes he gave them. He affirmed that the affairs of the Romans were in a weak condition, and extolled his own power. He also jested upon the ignorance of the unskilful, as if those Romans, although they should take to themselves wings, could never fly over the wall of Jerusalem, who found such great difficulties in taking the villages of Galilee, and had broken their engines of war against their walls.

2. These harangues of John's corrupted a great part of the young men, and puffed them up for the war; but as to the more prudent part, and those in years, there was not a man of them but foresaw what was coming, and made lamentation on that account, as if the city was already undone: and in this confusion were the people. But then it must be observed, that the multitude that came out of the country were at discord before the Jerusalem sedition began; for Titus went from Gischala to Cæsarea, and Vespasian from Cesarea to Jamnia and Azotus, and took them both; and when he had put garrisons into them he came back with a great number of the people, who were come over to him, upon his giving them his right hand for their preservation. There were besides disorders and civil wars in every city, and all these that were at quiet from the Romans turned their hands one against another. There was also a bitter contest between those that were fond of war, and those that were desirous for peace. At the first this quarrelsome temper caught hold of private families, who could not agree among themselves; after which those people that were the dearest to one another brake through all restraints with regard to each other, and every one associated with those of his own opinion, and began already to stand in opposition one to another; so that seditions arose every where, while those that were for innovations, and were desirous of war, by their youth and boldness were too hard for the aged and the prudent men. And, in the first place

all the people of every place betook themselves to rapine; after which they got together in bodies, in order to rob the people of the country, insomuch that for barbarity and iniquity those of the same nation did no way differ from the Romans; nay, it seemed to be a much lighter thing to be ruined by the Romans than by themselves.

3. Now the Roman garrisons, which guarded the cities, partly out of their uneasiness to take such trouble upon them, and partly out of the hatred they bare to the Jewish nation, did little or nothing towards relieving the miserable, till the captains of these troops of robbers being satiated with rapines in the country, got all together from all parts, and became a band of wickedness, and all together crept into Jerusalem, which was now become a city without a governor, and, as the ancient custom was, received without distinction all that belonged to their nation; and these they then received, because all men supposed that those who came so fast into the city, came out of kindness, and for their assistance, although these very men, besides the seditions they raised, were otherwise the direct cause of the city's destruction also; for as they were an unprofitable and a useless multitude, they spent these provisions before-hand which might otherwise have been sufficient for the fighting men. Moreover, besides the bringing on the war, they were the occasions of sedition and famine therein.

4. There were besides these other robbers that came out of the country, and came into the city, and joining to them those that were worse than themselves, omitted no kind of barbarity; for they did not measure their courage by their rapines and plunderings only, but proceeded as far as murdering men; and this not in the night time or privately, or with regard to ordinary men, but did it openly in the day time, and began with the most eminent persons in the city; for the first man they meddled with was Antipas, one of the royal lineage, and the most potent man in the whole city, insomuch that the public treasures were committed to his care; him they took and confined, as they did in the next place to Levias, a person of great note, with Sophas the son of Raguel; both which were of royal lineage also. And besides these they did the same to the principal men of the country. This caused a terrible consternation among the people, and every one contented himself with taking care of his own safety, as they would do if the city had been taken in war.

5. But these were not satisfied with the bonds into which they had put the men forementioned; nor did they think it safe for them to keep them thus in custody long, since they were men very powerful, and had numerous families of their own that were able to avenge them. Nay, they thought the very people

would perhaps be so moved at these unjust proceedings, as to rise in a body against them: it was therefore resolved to have them slain. Accordingly, they sent one John, who was the most bloody minded of them all, to do that execution: this man was also called the *son of* Dorcas*, in the language of our country. Ten more men went along with him into the prison, with their swords drawn, and so they cut the throats of those that were in custody there. The grand lying pretence these men made for so flagrant an enormity was this, that these men had had conferences with the Romans, for a surrender of Jerusalem to them; and so they said they had slain only such as were traitors to their common liberty. Upon the whole, they grew the more insolent upon this bold prank of theirs, as though they had been the benefactors and saviours of the city.

6. Now the people were come to that degree of meanness and fear, and these robbers to that degree of madness, that these last took upon them to appoint † high priests. So when they had disannulled the succession, according to those families out of which the high priests used to be made, they ordained certain unknown and ignoble persons for that office, that they might have their assistance in their wicked undertakings; for such as obtained this highest of all honours, without any desert, were forced to comply with those that bestowed it on them. They also set the principal men at variance one with another, by several sorts of contrivances and tricks, and gained the opportunity of doing what they pleased, by the mutual quarrels of those who might have obstructed their measures; till at length, when they were satiated with the unjust actions they had done towards men, they transferred their contumelious behaviour to God himself, and came into the sanctuary with polluted feet.

7. And now, the multitude were going to rise against them already; for Ananus, the ancientest of the high priests, per-

* This name Dorcas in Greek, was Tabitha in Hebrew or Syriac, as Acts ix. 36. Accordingly, some of the manuscripts set it down here Tabetha or Tabeta. Nor can the context in Josephus be made out, but by supposing the reading to have been this, The son of Tabitha, "which, in the language of our country, denotes," Dorcas, [or a doe.]

† Here we may discover the utter disgrace and ruin of the high priesthood among the Jews, when undeserving, ignoble, and vile persons were advanced to that noble office by the seditious; which sort of high priests, as Josephus well remarks here, were thereupon obliged to comply with, and assist those that advanced them in their impious practices. The names of these high priests, or rather ridiculous and profane persons, were Jesus the son of Damneus, Jesus the son of Gamaliel, Matthias the son of Theophilus, and that prodigious ignoramus, Phannias, the son of Samuel; all which we shall meet with in Josephus's future history of this war; nor do we meet with any other so much as pretended high priest after Phannias, till Jerusalem was taken and destroyed.

suaded them to it. He was a very prudent man, and had perhaps saved the city if he could have escaped the hands of those that plotted against him. Those men made the temple of God a strong hold for them, and a place whether they might resort, in order to avoid the troubles they feared from the people; the sanctuary was now become a refuge, and a shop of tyranny. They also mixed jesting among the miseries they introduced, which was more intolerable than what they did; for in order to try what surprise the people would be under, and how far their own power extended, they undertook to dispose of the high priesthood, by casting lots for it, whereas, as we have said already, it was to descend by succession in a family. The pretence they made for this strange attempt was an ancient practice, while they said that of old it was determined by lot; but in truth, it was no better than a dissolution of an undeniable law, and a cunning contrivance to seize upon the government, derived from those that presumed to appoint governors as they themselves pleased.

8. Hereupon they sent for one of the pontifical tribes, which is called * *Eniachim*, and cast lots which of it should be the high priest. By fortune the lot so fell as to demonstrate their iniquity after the plainest manner, for it fell upon one whose name was *Phannias*, the son of Samuel, of the village Aptha. He was a man not only unworthy of the high priesthood, but that did not well know what the high priesthood was, such a mere rustic was he; yet did they hale this man, without his own consent, out of the country, as if they were acting a play upon the stage, and adorned him with a counterfeit face: they also put upon him the sacred garments, and upon every occasion instructed him what he was to do. This horrid piece of wickedness was sport and pastime with them, but occasioned the other priests, who, at a distance saw their law made a jest of, to shed tears, and sorely lament the dissolution of such a sacred dignity.

9. And now the people could no longer bear the insolence of this procedure, but did altogether run zealously, in order to overthrow that tyranny: and indeed they were Gorion the son of Josephus, and Symeon † the son of Gamaliel, who encoura-

* This tribe or course of the high priests, or priests here called Eniakim seems to the learned Mr. Lowth, one well versed in Josephus, to be that, 1 Chron. xxiv. 12. "the course of Jakim," where some copies have "the course of Eliakim;" and I think this to be by no means an improbable conjecture.

† This Symeon, the son of Gamaliel, is mentioned as the president of the Jewish sanhedrim, and one that perished in the destruction of Jerusalem, by the Jewish rabbins, as Reland observes on this place. He also tells us that those rabbins mention one Jesus, the son of Gamala, as once an high priest, but this

ged them, by going up and down when they were assembled together in crowds, and as they saw them alone to bear no longer, but to inflict punishments upon these pests and plagues of their freedom, and to purge the temple of these bloody polluters of it. The best esteemed also of the high priests, Jesus the son of Gamala, and Ananus the son of Ananus, when they were at their assemblies, bitterly reproached the people for their sloth, and excited them against the zealots; for that was the name they went by, as if they were zealous in good undertakings, and were not rather zealous in the worst actions, and extravagant in them beyond the example of others.

10. And now, when the multitude were gotten together to an assembly, and every one was in indignation at these mens seizing upon the sanctuary, at their rapine and murders, but had not yet begun their attacks upon them, (the reason of which was this, that they imagined it to be a difficult thing to suppress these zealots, as indeed the case was), Ananus stood in the midst of them, and casting his eyes frequently at the temple, and having a flood of tears in his eyes, he said, "Certainly "it had been good for me to die before I had seen the house of "God full of so many abominations, or these sacred places that "ought not to be trodden upon at random, filled with the feet "of these blood-shedding villains; yet do I, who am clothed "with the vestments of the high priesthood, and am called by "that most venerable name [of high priest], still live, and am "but too fond of living, and cannot endure to undergo a death "which would be the glory of my old age; and if I were the "only person concerned, and as it were in a desert, I would give "up my life, and that alone for God's sake; for to what pur-"pose is it to live among a people insensible of their calamities, "and where there is no notion remaining of any remedy for "the miseries that are upon them? for when you are seized "upon, you bear it, and when you are beaten, you are silent, and "when the people are murdered, no body dare so much as send "out a groan openly. O bitter tyranny that we are under! but "why do I complain of the tyrants? Was it not you, and your "sufferance of them that have nourished them? Was it not you "that overlooked those that first of all got together, for they "were then but a few, and by your silence made them grow to "be many, and by conniving at them when they took arms, "in effect armed them against yourselves? You ought to have "then prevented their first attempts, when they fell a reproach-"ing your relations; but by neglecting that care in time, you

long before the destruction of Jerusalem; so that if he were the same person of this Jesus the son of Gamala, in Josephus, he must have lived to be very old, or they have been very bad chronologers.

" have encouraged these wretches to plunder men. When houses " were pillaged, no body said a word, which was the occa- " sion why they carried off the owners of those houses, and " when they were drawn through the midst of the city, no bo- " dy came to their assistance. They then proceeded to put those " whom you have betrayed into their hands into bonds; I do " not say how many, and of what characters those men were " whom they thus served, but certainly they were such as were " accused by none, and condemned by none; and since nobody " succoured them when they were put in bonds, the conse- " quence was, that you saw the same persons slain. We have " seen this also; so that still the best of the herd of brute ani- " mals as it were have been still led to be sacrificed, when yet " nobody said one word, or moved his right hand for their " preservation. Will you hear therefore, will you bear to see " your sanctuary trampled on? and will you lay steps for these " profane wretches, upon which they may mount to higher de- " grees of insolence? Will you not pluck them down from their " exaltation? for even by this time, they had proceeded to high- " er enormities, if they had been able to overthrow any thing " greater than the sanctuary. They have seized upon the " strongest place of the whole city; you may call it the temple, " if you please, though it be like a citadel or fortress. Now, " while you have tyranny in so great a degree walled in, and " see your enemies over your heads, to what purpose is it to " take counsel? and what have you to support your minds " withal? Perhaps, you may wait for the Romans, that they " may protect our holy places: are our matters then brought " to that pass? and are we come to that degree of misery, that " our enemies themselves are expected to pity us? O wretch- " ed creatures! will not you rise up, and turn upon those that " strike you? which you may observe in wild beasts them- " selves, that they will avenge themselves on those that strike " them. Will you not call to mind, every one of you, the ca- " lamities you yourselves have suffered? nor lay before your " eyes what afflictions you yourselves have undergone? and " will not such things sharpen your souls to revenge? Is there- " fore that most honourable, and most natural of our passions " utterly lost, I mean the desire of liberty! Truly we are in " love with slavery, and in love with those that lord it over " us, as if we had received that principle of subjection from our " ancestors; yet did they undergo many and great wars for the " sake of liberty, nor were they so far overcome by the power " of the Egyptians, or the Medes, but that still they did what " they thought fit, notwithstanding their commands to the con- " trary. And what occasion is there now for a war with the

"Romans? (I meddle not with determining whether it be an "advantageous and profitable war or not): What pretence is "there for it? Is it not that we may enjoy our liberty? Be- "sides shall we not bear the lords of the habitable earth to be "lords over us, and yet bear tyrants of our own country? Al- "though I must say that submission to foreigners may be borne, "because fortune hath already doomed us to it, while submission "to wicked people of our own nation is too unmanly, and "brought upon us by our own consent. However, since I have "had occasion to mention the Romans, I will not conceal a thing "that, as I am speaking, comes into my mind, and affects me "considerably; it is this, that though we should be taken by "them, (God forbid the event should be so), yet we can undergo "nothing that will be harder to be borne than what these men "have already brought upon us. How then can we not avoid "shedding of tears, when we see the Roman donations in our "temple, while we withal see those of our own nation taking our "spoils, and plundering our glorious metropolis, and slaughter- "ing our men, from which enormities these Romans themselves "would have abstained. To see those Romans never going be- "yond the bounds allotted to profane persons, nor venturing to "break in upon any of our sacred customs, nay, having a hor- "ror on their mind when they view at a distance those sacred "walls, while some that have been borne in this very country, "and brought up in our customs, and called Jews, do walk a- "bout in the midst of the holy places, at the very time when "their hands are still warm with the slaughter of their own "countrymen. Besides, can any one be afraid of a war abroad, "and that with such as will have comparatively much greater "moderation than our own people have? For truly, if we may "suit our words to the things they represent, it is probable one "may hereafter find the Romans to be the supporters of our "laws, and those within ourselves the subverters of them. And "now I am persuaded that every one of you here come satisfied "before I speak, that these overthrowers of our liberties de- "serve to be destroyed, and that nobody can so much as devise "a punishment that they have not deserved by what they have "done, and that you are all provoked against them by those their "wicked actions, whence you have suffered so greatly. But "perhaps many of you are affrighted at the multitude of those "zealots, and at their audaciousness, as well as at the advan- "tage they have over us in their being higher in place than we "are; for these circumstances, as they have been occasioned by "your negligence, so will they become still greater by being "still longer neglected; for their multitude is every day aug- "mented, by every ill man's running away to those that are

"like to themselves, and their audaciousness is therefore in-"flamed, because they meet with no obstruction to their de-"signs. And for their higher place; they will make use of it "for engines also, if we give them time to do so: but be assured "of this, that if we go up to fight them, they will be made "tamer by their own consciences, and what advantages they "have in the height of their situation, they will lose by the op-"position of their reason; perhaps also God himself, who hath "been affronted by them, will make what they throw at us re-"turn against themselves, and these impious wretches will be "killed by their own darts: let us but make our appearance be-"fore them, and they will come to nothing. However, it is a "right thing, if there should be any danger in the attempt, to "die before these holy gates, and to spend our very lives, if not "for the sake of our children and wives, yet for God's sake and "for the sake of his sanctuary. I will assist you both with my "counsel, and with my hand; nor shall any sagacity of ours be "wanting for your support, nor shall you see that I will be "sparing of my body neither."

11. By these motives Ananus encouraged the multitude to go against the zealots, although he knew how difficult it would be to disperse them, because of their multitude, and their youth, and the courage of their souls, but chiefly because of their consciousness of what they had done, since they would not yield, as not so much as hoping for pardon at the last for those their enormities. However, Ananus resolved to undergo whatever suffering might come upon him, rather than overlook things, now they were in such great confusion. So the multitude cried out to him, to lead them on against those whom he had described in his exhortation to them, and every one of them was most readily disposed to run any hazard whatsoever on that account.

12. Now while Ananus was choosing out his men, and putting those that were proper for his purpose in array for fighting, the zealots got information of his undertaking (for there were some who went to them, and told them all that the people were doing,) and were irritated at it, and leaping out of the temple in crowds, and by parties, spared none whom they met with. Upon this Ananus got the populace together on the sudden, who were more numerous indeed than the zealots, but inferior to them in arms, because they had not been regularly put into array for fighting, but the alacrity that every body shewed supplied all their defects on both sides, the citizens taking up so great a passion as was stronger than arms, and deriving a degree of courage from the temple, more forcible than any multitude whatsoever; and indeed these citizens thought it was not possible for them to dwell in the city, unless they could cut off the

robbers that were in it. The zealots also thought that unless they prevailed, there would be no punishment so bad, but it would be inflicted on them. So their conflicts were conducted by their passions, and at the first they only cast stones at each other in the city, and before the temple, and threw their javelins at a distance; but when either of them were too hard for the other, they made use of their swords; and great slaughter was made on both sides, and a great number were wounded. As for the dead bodies of the people their relations carried them out to their own houses; but when any of the zealots were wounded, he went up into the temple, and defiled that sacred floor with his blood, insomuch that one may say it was their blood alone that polluted our sanctuary. Now in these conflicts the robbers always sallied out of the temple, and were too hard for their enemies; but the populace grew very angry, and became more and more numerous, and reproached those that gave back, and those behind would not afford room to those that were going off, but forced them on again, till at length they made their whole body to turn against their adversaries, and the robbers could no longer oppose them, but were forced gradually to retire into the temple; when * Ananus and his party fell into it at the same time together with them. This horribly affrighted the robbers, because it deprived them of the first court; so they fled into the inner court immediately, and shut the gates. Now Ananus did not think fit to make any attack against the holy gates, although the other threw their stones and darts at them from above. He also deemed it unlawful to introduce the multitude into that court before they were purified; he therefore chose out of them all by lot, six thousand armed men, and placed them as guards in the cloisters: so there was a succession of such guards one after another, and every one was forced to attend in his course; although many of the chief of the city were dismissed by those that then took on them the government, upon their hiring some of the poorer sort, and sending them to keep the guard in their stead.

13. Now it was John who, as we told you, ran away from Gischala, that was the occasion of all these being destroyed. He was a man of great craft, and bore about him in his soul a strong

* It is worth noting here, that this Ananus, the best of the Jews at this time, and the high priest, who was so very uneasy at the profanation of the "Jewish courts" of the temple by the zealots, did not however scruple the profanation of the "court "of the Gentiles," as in our Saviour's days it was very much profaned by the Jews, and made a market place, nay, a "den of thieves," without scruple, Mat. xxi. 12, 13. Mark xi. 15, 16, 17. Accordingly Josephus himself, when he speaks of the two inner courts, calls them both ἅγια, or *holy places;* but, so far as I remember, never gives that character of the court of the Gentiles. See B. V. chap. ix, sect. 2.

passion after tyranny, and at a distance was the adviser in these actions: and indeed at this time he pretended to be of the people's opinion, and went all about with Ananus, when he consulted the great men every day, and in the night time also when he went round the watch; but he divulged their secrets to the zealots, and every thing that the people deliberated about was by his means known to their enemies, even before it had been well agreed upon by themselves. And by way of contrivance how he might not be brought into suspicion, he cultivated the greatest friendship possible with Ananus, and with the chief of the people; yet did this over-doing of his turn against him, for he flattered them so extravagantly, that he was but the more suspected; and his constant attendance every where, even when he was not invited to be present, made him strongly suspected of betraying their secrets to the enemy; for they plainly perceived that they understood all the resolutions taken against them at their consultations. Nor was there any one whom they had so much reason to suspect of that discovery as this John; yet was it not easy to get quit of him, so potent was he grown by his wicked practices. He was also supported by many of those eminent men, who were to be consulted upon all considerable affairs; it was therefore thought reasonable to oblige him to give them assurance of his good-will upon oath: accordingly John took such an oath readily, that he would be on the people's side, and would not betray any of their counsels or practices to their enemies, and would assist them in overthrowing those that attacked them, and that both by his hand and his advice. So Ananus and his party believed his oath, and did now receive him to their consultations without farther suspicion; nay, so far did they believe him, that they sent him as their ambassador into the temple, to the zealots, with proposals of accommodation; for they were very desirous to avoid the pollution of the temple as much as they possibly could, and that no one of their nation should be slain therein.

14. But now this John, as if his oath hath been made to the zealots, and for confirmation of his good-will to them, and not against them, went into the temple, and stood in the midst of them, and spake as follows: That "he had run many hazards "on their accounts, and in order to let them know of every "thing that was secretly contrived against them by Ananus "and his party; but that both he and they should be cast into "the most imminent danger, unless some providential assistance "were afforded them; for that Ananus made no longer delay, "but had prevailed with the people to send ambassadors to Vespasian, to invite him to come presently and take the city; and "that he had appointed a fast for the next day against them,

"that they might obtain admission into the temple on a religious "account or gain it by force, and fight with them there; that "he did not see how long they could either endure a siege, or "how could they fight against so many enemies." He added farther, "That it was by the providence of God, he was himself "sent an ambassador to them for an accommodation: for that "Ananus did therefore offer them such proposals, that he might "come upon them when they were unarmed: that they ought "to choose one of these two methods, either to intercede with "those that guarded them, to save their lives, or to provide "some foreign assistance for themselves: that if they fostered "themselves with the hopes of pardon, in case they were sub-"dued, they had forgotten what desperate things they had done, "or could suppose, that as soon as the actors repented, those that "had suffered by them must be presently reconciled to them; "while those that have done injuries, though they pretend to "repent of them, are frequently hated by the others for that "sort of repentance; and that the sufferers, when they get the "power into their hands, are usually still more severe upon the "actors: that the friends and kindred of those that had been "destroyed would always be laying plots against them: and "that a large body of people were very angry on account of "their gross breaches of their laws, and [illegal] judicatures, "insomuch, that although some part might commiserate them, "those would be quite overborne by the majority."

CHAP. IV.

The Idumeans being sent for by the zealots, came immediately to Jerusalem: and when they were excluded out of the city, they lay all night there. Jesus, one of the high priests makes a speech to them: and Simon the Idumean makes a reply to it.

§ 1. Now by this crafty speech John made the zealots afraid; yet he durst not directly name what foreign assistance he meant, but in a covert way only intimated at the Idumeans.— But now that he might particularly irritate the leaders of the zealots, he calumniated Ananus, that he was about a piece of barbarity, and did in a special manner threaten them. These leaders were Eleazer the son of Simon, who seemed the most plausible man of them all, both in considering what was fit to be done, and in the execution of what he had determined upon, and Zacharias the son of Phalek, both of whom derived their families from the priests. Now, when these two men had heard, not only the common threatenings which belonged to them all, but those peculiarly levelled against themselves; and besides, how

Ananus and his party, in order to secure their own dominion, had invited the Romans to come to them, for that also was part of John's lie, they hesitated a great while what they should do, considering the shortness of the time by which they were straitened; because the people were prepared to attack them very soon, and because the suddenness of the plot laid against them had almost cut off all the hopes of getting any foreign assistance; for they might be under the height of their afflictions before any of their confederates could be informed of it. However, it was resolved to call in the Idumeans; so they wrote a short letter to this effect, That "Ananus had imposed on the "people, and was betraying their metropolis to the Romans: "that they themselves had revolted from the rest, and were in "custody in the temple, on account of the preservation of their "liberty: that there was but a small time left, wherein they "might hope for their deliverance; and that unless they would "come immediately to their assistance, they should themselves "be soon in the power of Ananus, and the city would be in "the power of the Romans." They also charged the messenger to tell many more circumstances to the rulers of the Idumeans. Now, there were two active men proposed for the carrying this message, and such as were well able to speak, and to persuade them that things were in this posture, and what was a qualification still more necessary than the former, they were very swift of foot; for they knew well enough that these would immediately comply with their desires, as being ever a tumultuous and disorderly nation, always on the watch upon every motion, delighting in mutations; and upon your flattering them ever so little, and petitioning them, they soon took their arms, and put themselves into motion, and make haste to a battle, as if it were to a feast. There was indeed occasion for quick dispatch in the carrying of this message, in which point the messengers were no way defective. Both their names were Ananias; and they soon came to the rulers of the Idumeans.

2. Now these rulers were greatly surprised at the contents of the letter, and at what those that came with it further told them, whereupon they ran about the nation like mad men, and made proclamation that the people should come to war; so a multitude was suddenly got together, sooner indeed than the time appointed in the proclamation, and every body caught up their arms, in order to maintain the liberty of their metropolis; and twenty thousand of them were put into battle array, and came to Jerusalem, under four commanders, John and Jacob the son of Sosas; and besides these was Simon the son of Cathlas, and Phineas the son of Clusothus.

3. Now this exit of the messengers was not known, either to

Ananus, or to the guards, but the approach of the Idumeans was known to him; for as he knew of it before they came, he ordered the gates to be shut against them, and that the walls should be guarded. Yet did not he by any means think of fighting against them, but before they came to blows, to try what persuasions would do. Accordingly, Jesus, the eldest of the high priests next to Ananus, stood upon the tower that was over against them, and said thus, "Many troubles indeed, and those "of various kinds, have fallen upon this city, yet in none of "them have I so much wondered at her fortune as now, when "you are come to assist wicked men, and this after a manner "very extraordinary; for I see that you are come to support "the vilest of men against us, and this with so great alacrity, as "you could hardly put on the like, in case our metropolis had "called you to her assistance against barbarians. And if I had "perceived that your army was composed of men like unto "those who invited them, I had not deemed your attempt so "absurd. For nothing does so much cement the minds of men "together as the alliance there is between their manners. But "now for these men who have invited you, if you were to ex- "amine them one by one, every one of them would be found "to have deserved ten thousand deaths; for the very rascality "and off-scouring of the whole country, who have spent in de- "bauchery their own substance, and by way of trial before-hand, "have madly plundered the neighbouring villages and cities; in "the upshot of all, have privately run together into this holy "city. They are robbers, who by their prodigious wicked- "ness have profaned this most sacred floor, and who are to be "now seen drinking themselves drunk in the sanctuary, and ex- "pending the spoils of those whom they have slaughtered up- "on their unsatiable bellies. As for the multitude that is with "you, one may see them so decently adorned in their armour, "as it would become to be, had their metropolis called them to "her assistance against foreigners. What can a man call this "procedure of yours, but the sport of fortune, when he sees a "whole nation coming to protect a sink of wicked wretches? I "have for a good while been in doubt what it could possibly be "that should move you to do this so suddenly; because certain- "ly you would not take on your armour on the behalf of rob- "bers, and against a people of kin to you, without some very "great cause for your so doing. But we have an item that the "Romans are pretended, and that we are supposed to be going "to betray this city, to them; for some of your men have late- "ly made a clamour about those matters and have said they are "come to set their metropolis free. Now, we cannot but ad- "mire at these wretches in their devising such a lie as this against

"us; for they knew there was no other way to irritate against "us men that were naturally desirous of liberty, and on that "account the best disposed to fight against foreign enemies, but "by framing a tale as if we were going to betray that most desirable thing, liberty. But you ought to consider what sort "of people they are that raise this calumny, and against what "sort of people that calumny is raised, and to gather the truth "of things, not by fictitious speeches, but out of the actions of "both parties; for what occasion is there for us to sell ourselves "to the Romans? while it was in our power not to have revolted from them at the first, or when we had once revolted "to have returned under their dominion again; and this while "the neighbouring countries were not yet laid waste: whereas, "it is not an easy thing to be reconciled to the Romans, if we "were desirous of it, now they have subdued Galilee, and are "thereby become proud and insolent; and to endeavour to please "them at the time when they are so near us, would bring such "a reproach upon us as were worse than death. As for myself indeed, I should have preferred peace with them before "death; but now we have once made war upon them, and "fought with them, I prefer death, with reputation, before "living in captivity under them. But farther, whether do "they pretend that we, who are the rulers of the people have "sent thus privately to the Romans, or hath been done by "the common suffrages of the people? If it be ourselves only "that have done it, let them name those friends of ours that "have been sent, as our servants, to manage this treachery. "Hath any one been caught as he went out on this errand, or "seized upon as he came back? Are they in possession of our "letters? How could he be concealed from such a vast number of our fellow-citizens, among whom we are conversant "every hour, while what is done privately in the country, is, "it seems, known by the Zealots, who are but few in number, "and under confinement also, and are not able to come out of "the temple into the city. Is this the first time that they are "become sensible how they ought to be punished for their insolent actions? For while these men were free from the fear "they are now under, there was no suspicion raised that any "of us were traitors. But if they lay this charge against the "people, this must have been done at a public consultation, and "not one of the people must have dissented from the rest of the "assembly; in which case the public fame of this matter would "have come to you sooner than any particular indication. But "how could that be? Must there not then have been ambassadors sent to confirm the agreements? And let them tell us "who this ambassador was, that was ordained for that purpose.

"But this is no other than a pretence of such men as are loath "to die, and are labouring to escape those punishments that "hang over them: for if fate had determined that this city was "to be betrayed into its enemies' hand, no other than these men "that accuse us falsely could have the impudence to do it, there "being no wickedness wanting to complete their impudent "practices but this only, that they became traitors. And now "you Idumeans are come hither already with your arms; it is "your duty in the first place, to be assisting to your metropolis, "and to join with us in cutting off those tyrants that have in-"fringed the rules of our regular tribunals, that have trampled "upon our laws, and made their swords the arbitrators of right "and wrong; for they have seized upon men of great eminence, "and under no accusation, as they stood in the midst of the mar-"ket-place, and tortured them with putting them into bonds, "and without bearing to hear what they had to say, or what "supplications they made, they destroyed them. You may, if "you please, come into the city, though not in the way of war, "and take a view of the marks still remaining of what I now "say, and may see the houses that have been depopulated by "their rapacious hands, with those wives and families that are "in black, mourning for their slaughtered relations; as also "you may hear their groans and lamentations all the city over; "for there is nobody but hath tasted of the incursions of these "profane wretches, who have proceeded to that degree of mad-"ness, as not only to have transferred their impudent robberies "out of the country, and the remote cities, into this city, the "very face and head of the whole nation, but out of the "city into the temple also; for that is now made their re-"ceptacle and refuge, and the fountain head whence their pre-"parations are made against us. And this place, which is ador-"ed by the habitable world and honoured by such as only know "it by report, as far as the ends of the earth, is trampled upon "by these wild beasts born among ourselves. They now tri-"umph in the desperate condition they are already in, when "they hear that one people is going to fight against another "people, and one city against another city, and that your nation "hath gotten an army together against its own bowels. Instead "of which procedure, it were highly fit and reasonable, as I said "before, for you to join with us in cutting off these wretches, "and in particular to be revenged on them for putting this very "cheat upon you: I mean for having the impudence to invite "you to assist them, of whom they ought to have stood in fear, "as ready to punish them. But if you have some regard to "these men's invitation of you, yet may you lay aside your "arms, and come into the city under the notion of our kindred,

" and take upon you a middle name between that of auxiliaries " and of enemies, and so become judges in this case. However, consider what these men will gain by being called into " judgment before you, and such undeniable and such flagrant " crimes, who would not vouchsafe to hear such as had no accusations laid against them to speak a word for themselves. " However, let them gain this advantage by your coming. But " still, if you will neither take our part in that indignation we " have at these men, nor judge between us, the third thing I " have to propose is this, that you let us both alone, and neither insult upon our calamities, nor abide with these plotters " against their metropolis: for though you should have ever so " great a suspicion that some of us have discoursed with the " Romans, it is in your power to watch the passages into the " city; and in case any thing that we have been accused of is " brought to light, then to come, and defend your metropolis, " and to inflict punishment on those that are found guilty; for " the enemy cannot prevent you who are so near to the city. " But if, after all, none of these proposals seem acceptable and " moderate, do not you wonder that the gates are shut against " you, while you bear your arms about you."

4. Thus spoke Jesus, yet did not the multitude of the Idumeans give any attention to what he said, but were in a rage, because they did not meet with a ready entrance into the city. The generals also had indignation at the offer of laying down their arms, and looked upon it as equal to a captivity, to throw them away at any man's injunction whomsoever. But Simon " the son of Cathlas, one of their commanders, with much ado " quieted the tumult of his own men, and stood so that the high-priests might hear him, and said as follows: " I can no longer " wonder that the patrons of liberty are under custody in the " temple, since these are those that shut the gates of our common city * to their own nation, and at the same time are prepared to admit the Romans into it; nay perhaps are disposed " to crown the gates with garlands at their coming, while they " speak to the Idumeans from their own towers, and enjoin " them to throw down their arms which they have taken up " for the preservation of its liberty. And while they will not " intrust the guard of our metropolis to their kindred, profess

* This appellation of Jerusalem given it here by Simon, the general of the Idumeans, " The common city" of the Idumeans, who were proselytes of justice, as well as of the original native Jews, greatly confirms that maxim of the rabbins, here set down by Reland, that " Jerusalem was not assigned, or appropriated to the tribe of Benjamin or Judah," but every tribe had equal right to it, [at their coming to worship there at their several festivals]. See a little before ch. iii. sect. 3.

" to make them judges of the differences that are among them;
" nay, while they accuse some men of having slain others with-
" out a legal trial, they do themselves condemn a whole nation
" after an ignominious manner; and have now walled up that
" city from their own nation, which used to be open to even all
" foreigners that came to worship there. We have indeed come
" in great haste to you, and to a war against our own country-
" men; and the reason why we have made such a haste is this,
" that we may preserve that freedom which you are so unhap-
" py as to betray. You have probably been guilty of the like
" crimes against those whom you keep in custody, and have,
" I suppose collected together the like plausible pretences a-
" gainst them also, that you make use of against us: after which
" you have gotten the mastery of those within the temple and
" keep them in custody, while they are only taking care of the
" public affairs. You have also shut the gates of the city in
" general against nations that are the most nearly related to
" you: and while you give such injurious commands to others,
" you complain that you have been tyrannized over by them;
" and fix the name of unjust governors upon such as are tyran-
" nized over by yourselves. Who can bear this your abuse of
" words, while they have a regard to the contrariety of your
" actions? Unless you mean this, that those Idumeans do now
" exclude you out of your metropolis, whom you exclude from
" the sacred offices of your own country. One may indeed
" justly complain of those that are besieged in the temple, that
" when they had courage enough to punish those tyrants, which
" you call eminent men, and free from any accusations, because
" of their being your companions in wickedness, they did not
" begin with you, and thereby cut off before-hand the most
" dangerous parts of this treason. But if these men have been
" more merciful than the public necessity required, we that
" are Idumeans will preserve this house of God, and will fight
" for our common country, and will oppose by war as well
" those that attack them from abroad, as those that betray them
" from within. Here will we abide before the walls in our ar-
" mour, until either the Romans grow weary in waiting for you,
" or you become friends to liberty, and repent of what you have
" done against it."

5. And now did the Idumeans make an acclamation to what Simon had said, but Jesus went away sorrowful, as seeing that the Idumeans were against all moderate counsels, and that the city was besieged on both sides. Nor indeed were the minds of the Idumeans at rest, for they were in a rage at the injury that had been offered them, by their exclusion out of the city; and when they thought the zealots had been strong, but saw nothing

of theirs to support them, they were in doubt about the matter, and many of them repented that they had come thither.—But the shame that would attend them in case they returned without doing any thing at all, so far overcame that their repentance, that they lay all night before the wall, though in a very bad encampment; for there broke out a prodigious storm in the night, with the utmost violence, and very strong winds, with the largest showers of rain, with continued lightnings, terrible thunderings, and amazing concussions and bellowings of the earth that was in an earthquake. These things were a manifest indication that some destruction was coming upon men, when the system of the world was put into this disorder, and any one would guess that these wonders foreshewed some grand calamities that were coming.

6. Now the opinion of the Idumeans and of the citizens was one and the same. The Idumeans thought that God was angry at their taking arms, and that they would not escape punishment for their making war upon their metropolis. Ananus and his party thought that they had conquered without fighting, and that God acted as a general for them; but truly they proved both ill conjectures at what was to come, and made those events to be ominous to their enemies, while they were themselves to undergo the ill effects of them; for the Idumeans fenced one another by uniting their bodies into one band, and thereby kept themselves warm, and connecting their shields over their heads, were not so much hurt by the rain. But the Zealots were more deeply concerned for the danger these men were in than they were for themselves, and got together, and looked about them to see whether they could devise any means of assisting them. The hotter sort of them thought it best to force their guards with their arms, and after that to fall into the midst of the city, and publicly open the gates to those that came to their assistance; as supposing the guards would be in disorder, and give way at such an unexpected attempt of theirs, especially as the greater part of them were unarmed, and unskilled in the affairs of war; and that besides the multitude of the citizens would not be easily gathered together, but confined to their houses by the storm; and that if there were any hazard in their undertaking, it became them to suffer any thing whatsoever themselves, rather than to overlook so great a multitude as were miserably perishing on their account. But the more prudent part of them disapproved of this forcible method, because they saw not only the guards about them very numerous, but the walls of the city itself carefully watched, by reason of the Idumeans. They also supposed that Ananus would be every where, and visit the guards every hour; which indeed was

done upon other nights, but was omitted that night, not by reason of any slothfulness of Ananus, but by the overbearing appointment of fate, that so both he might himself perish, and the multitude of the guards might perish with him; for truly as the night was far gone, and the storm very terrible, Ananus gave the guards in the cloisters leave to go to sleep; while it came into the heads of the Zealots to make use of the saws belonging to the temple, and to cut the bars of the gates to pieces. The noise of the wind, and that not inferior sound of the thunder, did here also conspire with their designs, that the noise of the saws was not heard by the others.

7. So they secretly went out of the temple to the wall of the city, and made use of their saws, and opened that gate which was over against the Idumeans. Now at first there came a fear upon the Idumeans themselves, which disturbed them, as imagining that Ananus and his party were coming to attack them, so that every one of them had his right hand upon his sword, in order to defend himself; but they soon came to know who they were that came to them, and were entered the city. And had the Idumeans then fallen upon the city; nothing could have hindered them from destroying the people every man of them, such was the rage they were in at that time; but as they first of all made haste to get the Zealots out of custody, which those that brought them in earnestly desired them to do, and not to overlook those for whose sakes they were come, in the midst of their distresses, nor to bring them into a still greater danger; for that when they had once seized upon the guards, it would be easy for them to fall upon the city; but that if the city were once alarmed, they would not then be able to overcome those guards, because as soon as they should perceive they were there, they would put themselves in order to fight them, and would hinder their coming into the temple.

CHAP. V.

The cruelty of the Idumeans, when they were gotten into the temple, during the storm: and of the Zealots. Concerning the slaughter of Ananus, and Jesus, and Zacharias. And how the Idumeans retired home.

§ 1. THIS advice pleased the Idumeans; and they ascended through the city to the temple. The Zealots were also in great expectation of their coming, and earnestly waited for them. When therefore these were entering, they also came boldly out of the inner temple, and mixing themselves among the Idumeans, they attacked the guards; and some of those that

were upon the watch, but were fallen asleep, they killed as they were asleep; but as those that were now awakened made a cry: the whole multitude arose, and in the amazement they were in caught hold of their arms immediately, and betook themselves to their own defence; and so long as they thought they were only the Zealots who attacked them, they went on boldly, as hoping to overpower them by their numbers; but when they saw others pressing in upon them also, they perceived the Idumeans were got in; and the greatest part of them laid aside their arms, together with their courage, and betook themselves to lamentations. But some few of the younger sort covered themselves with their armour, and valiantly received the Idumeans, and for a while protected the multitude of old men. Others, indeed, gave a signal to those that were in the city of the calamities they were in; but when these were also made sensible that the Idumeans were come in, none of them durst come to their assistance, only they returned the terrible echo of wailing, and lamented their misfortunes. A great howling of the women was excited also, and every one of the guards were in danger of being killed. The Zealots also joined in the shouts raised by the Idumeans; and the storm itself rendered the cry more terrible; nor did the Idumeans spare any body, for as they are naturally a most barbarous and bloody nation, and had been distressed by the tempest, they made use of their weapons against those that had shut the gates against them, and acted in the same manner as to those that supplicated for their lives, and to those that fought them, insomuch that they ran through those with their swords, who desired them to remember the relation there was between them, and begged of them to have regard to their common temple. Now there was at present neither any place for flight, nor any hope of preservation, but as they were driven one upon another in heaps, so they were slain. Thus the greater part were driven together by force, as there was now no place of retirement, and the murderers were upon them, and, having no other way, threw themselves down headlong into the city; whereby, in my opinion, they underwent a more miserable destruction than that which they avoided, because that was a voluntary one. And now the outer temple was all of it overflowed with blood; and that day, as it came on they saw eight thousand five hundred dead bodies there.

2. But the rage of the Idumeans was not satiated by these slaughters; but they now betook themselves to the city, and plundered every house, and slew every one they met; and for the other multitude they esteemed it needless to go on with killing them, but they sought for the high priests, and the generality

went with the greatest zeal against them; and as soon as they caught them they slew them, and then standing upon their dead bodies, in way of jest, upbraided Ananus with his kindness to the people, and Jesus with his speech made to them from the wall. Nay, they proceeded to that degree of impiety, as to cast away their dead bodies without burial, although the Jews used to take so much care of the burial of men, that they took down those that were condemned and crucified, and buried them before the going down of the sun. I would not mistake if I said, that the death of Ananus was the beginning of the destruction of the city, and that from this very day may be dated the overthrow of her wall, and the ruin of her affairs, whereon they saw their high priest, and the procurer of their preservation, slain in the midst of their city. He was on other accounts also a venerable, and a very just man; and besides the grandeur of that nobility, and dignity, and honour of which he was possessed, he had been a lover of a kind of parity, even with regard to the meanest of the people, he was a prodigious lover of liberty, and an admirer of a democracy in government, and did ever prefer the public welfare before his own advantage, and preferred peace above all things; for he was thoroughly sensible that the Romans were not to be conquered. He also foresaw that of necessity a war would follow, and that unless the Jews made up matters with them very dexterously, they would be destroyed; to say all in a word, if Ananus had survived they had certainly compounded matters; for he was a shrewd man in speaking and persuading the people, and had already gotten the mastery of those that opposed his designs, or were for the war. And the Jews had then put abundance of delays in the way of the Romans, if they had had such a general as he was. Jesus was also joined with him, and although he were inferior to him upon the comparison, he was superior to the rest; and I cannot but think, that it was because God had doomed the city to destruction, as a polluted city, and was resolved to purge this sanctuary by fire, that he cut off these their great defenders and well-wishers, while those that a little before had worn the sacred garments, and had presided over the * public worship, and had been esteemed venerable by those that dwelt on the whole habitable earth when they came into our city, were cast out naked, and seen to be the food of dogs and wild beasts. And I cannot but imagine that virtue itself groaned at these men's case, and lamented that she was here so terribly conquered by wickedness. And this at last was the end of Ananus and Jesus.

* Κοσμικη θρησκεια, "or worldly worship," as the author to the Hebrews calls the sanctuary, αγιον κοσμικον, "a worldly sanctuary."

3. Now after these were slain, the Zealots and the multitude of the Idumeans fell upon the people as upon a flock of profane animals, and cut their throats; and for the ordinary sort, they were destroyed in what place soever they caught them. But for the noblemen and the youth, they first caught them and bound them, and shut them up in prison, and put off their slaughter, in hopes that some of them would turn over to their party; but not one of them would comply with their desires, but all of them preferred death before being inrolled among such wicked wretches as acted against their own country. But this refusal of theirs brought upon them terrible torments; for they were so scourged and tortured, that their bodies were not able to sustain their torments, till at length, and with difficulty, they had the favour to be slain. Those whom they caught in the day time were slain in the night, and then their bodies were carried out and thrown away, that there might be room for other prisoners; and the terror that was upon the people was so great, that no one had courage enough either to weep openly for the dead man that was related to him, or to bury him; but those that were shut up in their own houses, could only shed tears in secret, and durst not even groan, without great caution lest any of their enemies should hear them; for if they did, those that mourned for others soon underwent the same death with those whom they mourned for. Only in the night time they would take up a little dust, and throw it upon their bodies, and even some that were the most ready to expose themselves to danger, would do it in the day-time; and there were twelve thousand of the better sort who perished in this manner.

4. And now these Zealots and Idumeans were quite weary of barely killing men, so they had the impudence of setting up fictitious tribunals and judicatures for that purpose; and as they intended to have * Zacharias, the son of Baruch, one of the most

* Some commentators are ready to suppose, that this "Zacharias the son of "Baruch" here most unjustly slain by the Jews in the temple, was the very same person with "Zecharias the son of Barachias," whom our Saviour says the Jews "slew between the temple and the altar." Mat. xxiii. 35. This is a somewhat strange exposition. Since Zechariah the prophet was really "the son of Barachai, and grand-son of Iddo, Zech. i. 1. and how he died, we have no other accounts than that before us in St. Matthew, while this "Zacharias was the son of Baruch." Since the slaughter was past when our Saviour spake these words, the Jews had then already slain him, whereas this slaughter of "Zacharias the son of Baruch," in Josephus, was then about 34 years future. And since the slaughter was, "between "the temple and the altar," in the court of the priests, one of the most sacred and remote parts of the whole temple, while this was, in Josephus's own words, in the middle of the temple, and much the most probably in the court of Israel only, (for we have had no intimation that the Zealots had at this time profaned the court of the priests. See B. V. ch. i. sect. 2.) Nor do I believe that our Josephus, who always persists on the peculiar sacredness of the inmost court, and of the holy house

eminent of the citizens, slain, so what provoked them against him was, that hatred of wickedness and love of liberty which were so eminent in him: he was also a rich man, so that by taking him off, they did not only hope to seize his effects, but also to get rid of a man that had great power to destroy them. So they called together, by a public proclamation, seventy of the principal men of the populace, for a shew, as if they were real judges, while they had no proper authority. Before these was Zecharias accused of a design to betray their polity to the Romans, and of having traiterously sent to Vespasian for that purpose. Now there appeared no proof or sign of what he was accused, but they affirmed themselves that they were well persuaded that so it was, and desired that such their affirmation might be taken for sufficient evidence. Now when Zacharias clearly saw that there was no way remaining for his escape from them, as having been treacherously called before them, and then put in prison, but not with any intention of a legal trial, he took great liberty of speech in that despair of his life he was under. Accordingly he stood up, and laughed at their pretended accusation, and in a few words confuted the crimes laid to his charge; after which he turned his speech to his accusers, and went over distinctly all their transgressions of the law, and made heavy lamentation upon the confusion they had brought public affairs to; in the meantime the Zealots grew tumultuous, and had much ado to abstain from drawing their swords, although they designed to preserve the appearance and shew of judicature to the end. They were also desirous on other accounts, to try the judges, whether they would be unmindful of what was just at their own peril. Now the seventy judges brought in their verdict, that the person accused was not guilty, as choosing rather to die themselves with him, than to have his death laid at their doors; hereupon there arose a great clamour of the Zealots upon his acquittal, and they all had indignation at the judges, for not understanding that the authority that was given them was but in jest. So two of the boldest of them fell upon Zacharias in the middle of the temple, and slew him; and as he fell down dead they bantered him, and said, "Thou hast also our verdict, and this will prove a "more sure acquittal to thee than the other." They also threw him down from the temple immediately into the valley beneath it. Moreover, they struck the judges with the backs of their swords, by way of abuse, and thrust them out of the court of the temple, and spared their lives with no other design

that was in it, would have omitted so material an aggravation of this barbarous murder, as perpetrated in a place so very holy, had that been the true place of it. See Antiq. B. XI. chap. vii. sect. 1. Vol. II. and the note here on B. V. ch. i. sect. 2.

than that, when they were dispersed among the people in the city, they might become their messengers, to let them know they were no better than slaves.

5. But by this time the Idumeans repented of their coming, and were displeased at what had been done; and when they were assembled together by one of the Zealots, who had come privately to them, he declared to them what a number of wicked pranks they had themselves done in conjunction with those that invited them, and gave a particular account of what mischiefs had been done against their metropolis. He said, That "they had taken "arms, as though the high priests were betraying their metro-"polis to the Romans, but had found no indication of any such "treachery; but that they had succoured those that had pre-"tended to believe such a thing, while they did themselves the "works of war and tyranny, after an insolent manner. It had "been indeed their business to have hindered them from such "their proceedings at the first, but seeing they had once been "partners with them in shedding the blood of their own coun-"trymen, it was high time to put a stop to such crimes, and "not continue to afford any more assistance to such as are sub-"verting the laws of their forefathers; for that if any had taken "it ill that the gates had been shut against them, and they had "not been permitted to come into the city, yet that those who "had excluded them have been punished, and Ananus is dead, "and that almost all those people had been destroyed in one "night's time. That one may perceive many of themselves now "repenting for what they had done, and might see the horrid "barbarity of those that had invited them, and that they had "no regard to such as had saved them; that they were so im-"pudent as to perpetrate the vilest things, under the eyes of "those that had supported them, and that their wicked actions "would be laid to the charge of the Idumeans, and would be so "laid to their charge till somebody obstructs their proceedings, "or separates himself from the same wicked action; that they "therefore ought to retire home, since the imputation of trea-"son appears to be a calumny, and that there was no expecta-"tion of the coming of the Romans at this time, and that the "government of the city was secured by such walls as cannot "easily be thrown down: and, by avoiding any farther fellow-"ship with these bad men, to make some excuse for themselves, "as to what they had been so far deluded, as to have been "partners with them hitherto."

CHAP. VI.

How the Zealots, when they were freed from the Idumeans, slew a great many more of the citizens. And how Vespasian dissuaded the Romans, when they were very earnest to march against the Jews, from proceeding in the war at that time.

§ 1. The Idumeans complied with these persuasions, and in the first place they set those that were in the prisons at liberty, being about two thousand of the populace, who thereupon fled away immediately to Simon, one whom we shall speak of presently. After which these Idumeans retired from Jerusalem, and went home, which departure of theirs was a great surprise to both parties; for the people not knowing of their repentance, pulled up their courage for a while, as eased of so many of their enemies, while the Zealots grew more insolent, not as deserted by their confederates, but as freed from such men as might hinder their designs, and put some stop to their wickedness. Accordingly they made no longer any delay, nor took any deliberation in their enormous practices, but made use of the shortest methods for all their executions, and what they had once resolved upon, they put in practice sooner than any one could imagine. But their thirst was chiefly after the blood of valiant men, and men of good families; the one sort of which they destroyed out of envy, the other out of fear; for they thought their whole security lay in leaving no potent men alive, on which account they slew Gorion, a person eminent in dignity, and on account of his family also; he was also for democracy, and of as great boldness and freedom of spirit as were any of the Jews whatsoever; the principal thing that ruined him, added to his other advantages, was his free speaking. Nor did Niger of Perea escape their hands: he had been a man of great valour in their war with the Romans, but was now drawn through the middle of the city, and, as he went, he frequently cried out, and shewed the scars of his wounds; and when he was drawn out of the gates, and despaired of his preservation, he besought them to grant a burial; but as they had threatened him before-hand not to grant him any spot of earth for a grave, which he chiefly desired of them, so did they slay him [without permitting him to be buried]. Now when they were slaying him, he made this imprecation upon them, that they might undergo both famine and pestilence in this war, and besides all that, that they might come to the mutual slaughter of one another; all which imprecations God confirmed against these impious men, and was what came most justly upon them, when not long afterward they tasted of

their own madness in their mutual seditions one against another. So when this Niger was killed, their fears of being overturned were diminished; and indeed there was no part of the people but they found out some pretence to destroy them; but some were therefore slain, because they had had differences with some of them in times of peace, they watched seasonable opportunities to gain some accusation against them; and if any one did not come near them at all, he was under their suspicion as a proud man; if any one came with boldness, he was esteemed a contemner of them; and if any one came as aiming to oblige them, he was supposed to have some treacherous plot against them: while the only punishment of crimes, whether they were of the greatest or smallest sort, was death. Nor could any one escape, unless he were very inconsiderable, either on account of the meanness of his birth, or on account of his fortune.

2. And now all the rest of the commanders of the Romans deemed this sedition among their enemies to be of great advantage to them, and were very earnest to march to the city, and they urged Vespasian as their lord and general in all cases, to make haste, and said to him, "That "the providence of God "is on our side, by setting our enemies at variance against one "another; that still the change in such cases may be sudden, and "the Jews may quickly be at one again, either because they "may be tired out of their civil miseries, or repent them of "such doings." But Vespasian replied, That "they were "greatly mistaken in what they thought fit to be done, as those "that, upon the theatre, love to make a shew of their hands, "and of their weapons, but do it at their own hazard, without "considering what was for their advantage, and for their securi- "ty; for that if they now go and attack the city immediately, "they shall but occasion their enemies to unite together, and "shall convert their force, now it is in its height against them- "selves. But if they stay a while they shall have fewer ene- "mies, because they will be consumed in this sedition: that "God acts as a general of the Romans better than he can do, "and is giving the Jews up to them without any pains of their "own, and granting their army a victory, without any danger; "that therefore it is their best way while their enemies are de- "stroying each other with their own hands, and falling into the "greatest misfortunes, which is that of sedition, to sit still as "spectators of the dangers they run into, rather than to fight "hand to hand with men that love murdering, and are mad one "against another. But if any one imagines that the glory of "victory, when it is gotten without fighting, will be more in- "sipid, let him know this much that a glorious success quietly "obtained, is more profitable than the dangers of a battle; for

"we ought to esteem those that do what is agreeable to temper-
"ance and prudence, no less glorious than those that have
"gained great reputation by their actions in war: that he shall
"lead on his army with greater force, when their enemies are
"diminished, and his own army refreshed after the continual
"labours they had undergone. However, that this is not a pro-
"per time to propose to ourselves the glory of victory; for
"that the Jews are not now employed in making of armour or
"building of walls, nor indeed in getting together auxiliaries,
"while the advantage will be on their side who give them such
"opportunity of delay; but that the Jews are vexed to pieces
"every day by their civil wars and dissensions, and are under
"greater miseries than, if they were once taken, could be inflict-
"ed on them by us. Whether therefore any one hath regard to
"what is for our safety, he ought to suffer these Jews to de-
"stroy one another, or whether he hath regard to the greater
"glory of the action, we ought by no means to meddle with
"those men, now they are afflicted with a distemper at home;
"for should we now conquer them, it would be said the con-
"quest was not owing to our bravery, but to their sedition."

3. And now the commanders joined in their approbation of what Vespasian had said, and it was soon discovered how wise an opinion he had given. And indeed many there were of the Jews that deserted every day, and fled away from the Zealots, although their flight was very difficult, since they had guarded every passage out of the city, and slew every one that was caught at them, as taking it for granted they were going over to the Romans; yet did he who gave them money get clear off, while he only that gave them none was voted a traitor. So the upshot was this, that the rich purchased their flight by money, while none but the poor was slain. Along all the roads also vast numbers of dead bodies lay on heaps, and even many of those that were so zealous in deserting, at length chose rather to perish within the city; for the hopes of burial made death in their own city appear of the two less terrible to them. But these Zealots came at last to that degree of barbarity, as not to bestow a burial either on those slain in the city, or on those that lay along the roads; but as if they had made an agreement to cancel both the laws of their country and the laws of nature, and at the same time that they defiled men with their wicked actions, they would pollute the Divinity itself also, they left the dead bodies to putrify under the sun: and the same punishment was allotted to such as buried any, as to those that deserted, which was no other than death; while he that granted the favour of a grave to another, would presently stand in need of a grave himself. To say all in a word, no other gentle passion was so entirely lost

among them as mercy; for what was the greatest objects of pity did most of all irritate these wretches, and they transferred their rage from the living to those that had been slain, and from the dead to the living. Nay, the terror was so very great that he who survived called them that were first dead happy, as being at rest already; as did those that were under torture in the prisons, declare, that, upon this comparison, those that lay unburied were the happiest. These men, therefore, trampled upon all the laws of men, and laughed at the laws of God: and for the oracles of the prophets, they ridiculed them as the tricks of jugglers; yet did these prophets foretel many things concerning [the rewards of] virtue, and [punishments of] vice, which when these Zealots violated, they occasioned the fulfilling of those very prophecies belonging to their own country: for there was a certain ancient oracle of those men, That "the city should then be "taken * and the sanctuary burnt, by right of war, when a "sedition should invade the Jews, and their own hand should "pollute the temple of God." Now while those Zealots did not [quite] disbelieve these predictions, they made themselves the instruments of their accomplishment.

CHAP. VII.

How John tyrannized over the rest; and what mischiefs the Zealots did at Masada. How also Vespasian took Gadara: and what actions were performed by Placidus.

§ 1. By this time John was beginning to tyrannize, and thought it beneath him to accept of barely the same honours that others had; and joining to himself by degrees a party of the wickedest of them all, he broke off from the rest of the faction. This was brought about by his still disagreeing with the opinions of others, and giving out injunctions of his own, in a very imperious manner, so that it was evident he was set-

* This prediction, That "the city (Jerusalem) should then be taken, and the "sanctuary burnt, by the right of war, when a sedition should invade the Jews, "and their own hands should pollute that temple; or, as it is, B. VI. ch. ii. § 1. "When any one should begin to slay his countrymen in the city," is wanting in our present copies of the Old Testament. See Essay on the Old Test. p. 104—112. But this prediction, as Josephus well remarks here, though, with the other predictions of the prophets, it was now laughed at by the seditious, was by their very means so exactly fulfilled. However, I cannot but here take notice of Grotius's positive assertion upon Mat. xxvi. 9. here quoted by Dr. Hudson, That "it ought "to be taken for granted, as a certain truth, that many predictions of the Jewish "prophets were preserved not in writing, but by memory." Whereas, it seems to me so far from certain, that I think it has no evidence nor probability at all.

ting up a monarchial power. Now some submitted to him out of their fear of him, and others out of their good-will to him; for he was a shrewd man to entice men to him, both by deluding them and putting cheats upon them. Nay, many there were that thought they should be safer themselves, if the causes of their past insolent actions should now be reduced to one head, and not to a great many. His activity was so great, and that both in action and in counsel, that he had not a few guards about him: yet was there a great party of his antagonists that left him; among whom envy at him weighed a great deal, while they thought it a very heavy thing to be in subjection to one that was formerly their equal. But the main reason that moved men against him was the dread of monarchy, for they could not hope easily to put an end to his power, if he had once obtained it; and yet they knew that he would have this pretence always against them, that they had opposed him when he was first advanced; while every one chose rather to suffer any thing whatsoever in war, than that when they had been in a voluntary slavery for some time, they should afterward perish. So the sedition was divided into two parts, and John reigned in opposition to his adversaries over one of them; but for their leaders they watched one another, nor did they at all, or at least very little meddle with arms in their quarrels; but they fought earnestly against the people, and contended one with another which of them should bring home the greatest prey. But because the city had to struggle with three of the greatest misfortunes, war, and tyranny, and sedition, it appeared upon the comparison, that the war was the least troublesome to the populace of them all. Accordingly they ran away from their own houses to foreigners, and obtained that preservation from the Romans, which they despaired to obtain among their own people.

2. And now a fourth misfortune arose, in order to bring our nation to destruction. There was a fortress of very great strength not far from Jerusalem, which had been built by our ancient kings, both as a repository for their effects in the hazards of war, and for the preservation of their bodies at the same time. It was called Masada. Those that were called Sicarii had taken possession of it formerly, but at this time they over-ran the countries, aiming only to procure to themselves necessaries; for the fear they were then in prevented their further ravages.—But when once they were informed that the Roman army lay still, and that the Jews were divided by sedition and tyranny, they boldly undertook greater matters; and at the feast of unleavened bread, which the Jews celebrate in memory of their deliverance from the Egyptian bondage, when they were sent back into the country of their forefathers, they came down by night,

without being discovered by those that could have prevented them, and over-ran a certain small city called Engaddi. In which expedition they prevented those citizens that could have stopped them, before they could arm themselves, and fight them. They also dispersed them, and cast them out of the city: as for such as could not run away being women and children, they slew of them above seven hundred. Afterward, when they had carried every thing out of their houses, and had seized upon all the fruits that were in a flourishing condition, they brought them into Masada. And indeed these men laid all the villages that were about the fortress waste, and made the whole country desolate; while there came to them every day, from all parts, not a few men as corrupt as themselves. At that time all the other regions of Judea that had hitherto been at rest were in motion, by means of the robbers. Now as it is in a human body, if the principal part be inflamed, all the members are subject to the same distemper, so by means of the disorder that was in the metropolis, had the wicked men that were in the country opportunity to ravage the same. Accordingly when every one of them had plundered their own villages, they then retired into the desart: yet were these men that now got together and joined in the conspiracy by parties, too small for an army, and too many for a gang of thieves: and thus did they fall upon the * holy places, and the cities; yet did it now so happen that they were sometimes very ill treated by those upon whom they fell with such violence, and were taken by them as men are taken in war: but still they prevented any farther punishment as do robbers, who as soon as their ravages [are discovered] run their way. Nor was there now any part of Judea that was not in a miserable condition, as well as its most eminent city also.

3. These things were told Vespasian by deserters; for although the seditious watched all the passages out of the city and destroyed all, whosoever they were, that came thither, yet were there some that had concealed themselves, and when they had fled to the Romans, persuaded their general to come to their city's assistance, and save the remainder of the people; informing him withal, that it was upon account of the people's good-will to the Romans that many of them were already slain, and the sur-

* By these ἱερα or "holy places," as distinct from cities, must be meant "proseuchæ," or "houses of prayer" out of cities; of which we find mention made in the New Testament and other authors. See Luke vi. 12. Acts xvi. 13, 16. Antiq. B. XIV ch. x. sect. 23. Vol. II. his Life, sect. 54. Vol. III. "In qua te quero "proseucha?" Juvenal Sat. III. ver. 296. They were situated sometimes by the sides of rivers, Acts xvi. 13. or by the sea-side Antiq. B. XIV. ch. x. sect. 23. So did the LXXII interpreters go to pray every morning by the sea-side before they went to their work, B. XII, ch. ii, sect. 12, Vol. II.

vivors in dangers of the same treatment. Vespasian did indeed already pity the calamities these men were in, and arose, in appearance, as though he was going to besiege Jerusalem, but in reality to deliver them from a [worse] siege they were already under. However, he was obliged first to overthrow what remained elsewhere, and to leave nothing out of Jerusalem behind him, that might interrupt him in that siege. Accordingly he marched against Gadara the metropolis of Perea which was a place of strength, and entered that city on the fourth day of the month Dystrus [Adar]; for the men of power had sent an embassage to him, without the knowledge of the seditious, to treat about a surrender; which they did out of the desire they had of peace, and for saving their effects, because many of the citizens of Gadara were rich men. This embassy the opposite party knew nothing of, but discovered it as Vespasian was approaching near the city. However, they despaired of keeping possession of the city, as being inferior in number to their enemies which were within the city, and seeing the Romans very near to the city; so they resolved to fly, but thought it dishonourable to do it without shedding some blood, and revenging themselves on the authors of this surrender; so they siezed upon Dolesus, (a person not only the first in rank and family in that city, but one that seemed the occasion of sending such an embassy) and slew him, and treated his dead body after a barbarous manner, so very violent was their anger at him, and then ran out of the city. And as now the Roman army was just upon them, the people of Gadara admitted Vespasian with joyful acclamations, and received from him the security of his right hand, as also a garrison of horsemen and footmen, to guard them against the excursions of the runagates; for as to their wall they had pulled it down before the Romans desired them so to do, that they might thereby give them assurance that they were lovers of peace, and that, if they had a mind, they could not now make war against them.

4. And now Vespasian sent Placidus against those that had fled from Gadara, with five hundred horsemen, and three thousand footmen, while he returned himself to Cesarea, with the rest of the army. But as soon as these fugitives saw the horsemen that pursued them just upon their backs, and before they came to a close fight, they ran together to a certain village, which was called Bethennabris, where finding a great multitude of young men, and arming them, partly by their own consent, partly by force, they rashly and suddenly assaulted Placidus and the troops that were with him. These horsemen at the first onset gave way a little as contriving to entice them farther off the wall, and when they had drawn them into a place fit for their

purpose, they made their horse encompass them round, and threw their darts at them. So the horsemen cut off the flight of the fugitives, while the foot terribly destroyed those that fought against them; for those Jews did no more than shew their courage, and then were destroyed, for as they fell upon the Romans, when they were joined close together, and, as it were, walled about with their entire armour, they were not able to find any place where the darts could enter, nor were they any way able to break their ranks, while they were themselves run through by the Roman darts, and like the wildest of wild beasts, rushed upon the point of others swords; so some of them were destroyed, as cut with their enemies swords upon their faces, and others were dispersed by the horsemen.

5. Now Placidus's concern was to exclude them in their flight from getting into the village, and causing his horse to march continually on that side of them, he then turned short upon them, and at the same time his men made use of their darts, and easily took their aim at those that were the nearest to them, as they made those that were farther off turn back by the terror they were in, till at last the most courageous of them brake through those horsemen and fled to the wall of the village. And now those that guarded the wall were in great doubt what to do; for they could not bear the thoughts of excluding those that came from Gadara, because of their own people that were among them; and yet, if they should admit them, they expected to perish with them, which came to pass accordingly, for as they were crowding together at the wall, the Roman horsemen were just ready to fall in with them. However, the guards prevented them and shut the gates, when Placidus made an assault upon them, and fighting courageously till it was dark, he got possession of the people on the wall, and of them that were in the city, when the useless multitude were destroyed, but those that were more potent ran away, and the soldiers plundered the houses, and set the village on fire. As for those that ran out of the village, they stirred up such as were in the country; and exaggerating their own calamities, and telling them that the whole army of the Romans were upon them, they put them into great fear on every side: so they got in great numbers together, and fled to Jericho, for they knew no other place that could afford them any hope of escaping, it being a city that had a strong wall, and a great multitude of inhabitants. But Placidus relying much upon his horsemen, and his former good success, followed them, and slew all that he overtook, as far as Jordan: and when he had driven the whole multitude to the river side, where they were stopped by the current, (for it had been augmented lately by rains, and was not

fordable,) he put his soldiers in array over against them, so the necessity the others were in, provoked them to hazard a battle, because there was no place whither they could flee. They then extended themselves a very great way along the banks of the river, and sustained the darts that were thrown at them, as well as the attacks of the horsemen, who beat many of them and pushed them into the current. At which fight, hand to hand, fifteen thousand of them were slain, while the number of those that were unwillingly forced to leap into Jordan was prodigious. There were besides, two thousand and two hundred taken prisoners. A mighty prey was taken also, consisting of asses, and sheep, and camels, and oxen.

6. Now, this destruction that fell upon the Jews, as it was not inferior to any of the rest in itself, so did it still appear greater than it really was; and this, because not only the whole country through which they fled, was filled with slaughter, and Jordan could not be passed over, by reason of the dead bodies that were in it, but because the lake Asphaltitis was also full of dead bodies, that were carried down into it by the river. And now, Placidus, after this good success that he had had, fell violently upon the neighbouring smaller cities and villages; when he took Abila, and Julias, and Bezemoth, and all those that lay as far as the lake Asphaltitis, and put such of the deserters into each of them as he thought proper. He then put his soldiers on board the ships, and slew such as had fled to the lake, insomuch, that all Perea had either surrendered themselves, or were taken by the Romans, as far as Macherus.

CHAP. VIII.

*How Vespasian, upon hearing of some commotions in * Gall, made haste to finish the Jewish war. A description of Jericho, and of the great plain; with an account besides of the lake Asphaltitis.*

§ 1. In the mean time an account came, that there were commotions in Gall, and that Vindex, together with the men of power in that country, had revolted from Nero; which affair is more accurately described elsewhere. This report thus related to Vespasian, excited him to go on briskly with the war; for he foresaw already the civil wars which were coming upon them, nay, that the very government was in danger, and he thought, if he could first reduce the eastern parts of the empire to peace, he should make the fears for Italy the lighter;

* Gr. Galatia, and so every where.

while therefore the winter was his hindrance, [from going into the field], he put garrisons into the villages and smaller cities for their security; he put decurions also into the villages, and centurions into the cities, he besides this built many of the cities that had been laid waste, but at the beginning of the spring he took the greatest part of his army, and led it from Cesarea, to Antipatris, where he spent two days in settling the affairs of that city, and then, on the third day, he marched on, laying waste and burning all the neighbouring villages. And when he had laid waste all the places about the toparchy of Thamnas, he passed on to Lydda, and Jamnia, and when both these cities had come over to him, he placed a great many of those that had come over to him [from other places] as inhabitants therein, and then came to Emmaus, where he seized upon the passages which led thence to their metropolis, and fortified his camp, and leaving the fifth legion therein, he came to the toparchy of Bethletephon. He then destroyed that place, and the neighbouring places by fire, and fortified at proper places, the strong holds all about Idumea; and when he had seized upon two villages, which were in the very midst of Idumea, Betaris and Capartobas, he slew above ten thousand of the people, and carried into captivity above a thousand, and drove away the rest of the multitude, and placed no small part of his own forces in them, who over-ran and laid waste the whole mountainous country; while he, with the rest of his forces returned to Emmaus, when he came down, through the country of Samaria, and hard by the city, by others called Neapolis (or Sichem), but by the people of that country, Mabortha, to Corea, where he pitched his camp, on the second day of the month Desius, [Sivan]; and on the day following he came to Jericho, on which day Trajan, one of his commanders, joined him with the forces he brought out of Perea, all the places beyond Jordan, being subdued already.

2. Hereupon a great multitude prevented their approach, and came out of Jericho, and fled to those mountainous parts that lay over against Jerusalem, while that part which was left behind was in a great measure destroyed; they also found the city desolate. It is situated in a plain, but a naked and barren mountain, of a very great length, hangs over it, which extends itself to the land about Scythopolis northward, but as far as the country of Sodom, and the utmost limits of the lake Asphaltitis southward. This mountain is all of it very uneven and uninhabited by reason of its barrenness; there is an opposite mountain that is situated over against it, on the other side of Jordan; this last begins at Julias, and the northern quarters, and ex-

tends itself southward as far as * Somorrhon, which is the bounds of Petra, in Arabia. In this ridge of mountains there is one called the Iron mountain, that runs in length as far as Moab. Now the region that lies in the middle between these ridge of mountains, is called the Great plain; it reaches from the village Ginnabries, as far as the lake Asphaltitis; its length is two hundred and thirty furlongs, and its breadth an hundred and twenty, and it is divided in the midst by Jordan. It hath two lakes in it, that of Asphaltitis, and that of Tiberias, whose natures are opposite to each other; for the former is salt and unfruitful, but that of Tiberias is sweet and fruitful. This plain is much burnt up in summer time, and, by reason of the extraordinary heat, contains a very unwholsome air; it is all destitute of water excepting the river Jordan, which water of Jordan is the occasion why those plantations of palm trees that are near its banks, are more flourishing, and much more fruitful, as are those that are remote from it not so flourishing, or fruitful.

3. Notwithstanding which, there is a fountain by Jericho, that runs plentifully, and is very fit for watering the ground; it arises near the old city, which Joshua the son of Nun, the general of the Hebrews, took the first of all the cities of the land of Canaan, by right of war. The report is, that this fountain, at the beginning, caused, not only the blasting of the earth and the trees, but of the children born of women, and that it was entirely of a sickly and corruptive nature, to all things whatsoever, but that it was made gentle, and very wholesome and fruitful by the prophet Elisha. This prophet was familiar with Elijah, and was his successor, who, when he once was the guest of the people at Jericho, and the men of the place had treated him very kindly, he both made them amends as well as the country, by a lasting favour; for he went out of the city to this fountain, and threw into the current an earthen vessel full of salt; after which he stretched out his righteous hand, unto heaven, and, pouring out a mild drink offering, he made † this supplication, That, " the " current might be mollified, and that the veins of fresh water " might be opened. That God also would bring into the place " a more temperate and fertile air, for the current, and would

* Whether this Somorrhon, or Somorrha, ought not to be here written Gomorrha, as some MSS. in a manner have it, (for the place meant by Josephus seems to be near Segor or Zoar, at the very south of the dead sea, hard by which stood Sodom and Gomorrha), cannot now be certainly determined, but seems by no means improbable.

† This excellent prayer of Elisha is wanting in our copies, 2 Kings ii. 21, 22. though it be referred to also in the Apostolical constitutions, B. VII, chap. xxxvii, and the success of it is mentioned in them all.

"bestow upon the people of that country plenty of the fruits of "the earth, and a succession of children; and that this prolific "water might never fail them, while they continued to be righte-"ous." To these prayers Elisha joined proper operations of his hands, after a skilful manner, and changed the fountain; and that water, which had been the occasion of barrenness and famine before, from that time did supply a numerous posterity, and afford great abundance to the country. Accordingly the power of it is so great in watering the ground, that if it do but once touch a country, it affords a sweeter nourishment than other waters do, when they lie so long upon them till they are satiated with them. For which reason, the advantage gained from other waters, when they flow in great plenty, is but small, while that of this water is great when it flows even in little quantities: Accordingly it waters a larger space of ground than any other waters do, and passes along a plain of seventy furlongs long, and twenty broad; wherein it affords nourishment to those most excellent gardens† that are thick set with trees. There are in it many sorts of palm trees that are watered by it, different from each other in taste and name; the better sort of them, when they are pressed, yield an excellent kind of honey, not much inferior in sweetness to other honey. This country withal produces honey from bees, it also bears that balsam which is the most precious of all the fruits in that place, cypress trees also, and those that bear myrobalanum; so that he who should pronounce this place to be divine, would not be mistaken, wherein is such plenty of trees produced, as are very rare, and of the most excellent sort. And indeed, if we speak of those other fruits, it will not be easy to light on any climate in the habitable earth, that can well be compared to it, what is here sowed comes up in such clusters: the cause of which seems to me to be the warmth of the air, and the fertility of the waters; the warmth calling forth the sprouts, and making them spread, and the moisture making every one of them take the root firmly, and supplying that virtue which it stands in need of in summer time. Now this country is then so sadly burnt up, that nobody cares to come at it, and if the water be drawn up before sun-rising, and after that exposed to the air, it becomes exceeding cold, and becomes of a nature quite contrary to the ambient air: as in winter again it becomes warm; and if you go into it, it appears very gentle. The ambient air is here also of so good a temperature, that the people of the country are clothed in linen only, even when snow covers the rest of Judea. This place is one hundred and fifty furlongs from Jerusalem, and sixty from Jordan. The country, as far as Jerusalem, is desert, and stony; but that as far as Jordan and the lake Asphaltitis lies lower in-

deed, though it be equally desert and barren. But so much shall suffice to have said about Jericho, and of the great happiness of its situation.

4. The nature of the lake Asphaltitis is also worth describing, It is, as I have said already, bitter and unfruitful. It is so light [or thick] that it bears up the heaviest things that are thrown into it; nor is it easy for any one to make things sink therein to the bottom, if he had a mind so to do. Accordingly, when Vespasian went to see it, he commanded that some who could not swim, should have their hands tied behind them, and be thrown into the deep, when it so happened that they all swam as if a wind had forced them upwards. Moreover, the change of the colour of this lake is wonderful, for it changes its appearance thrice every day, and as the rays of the sun fall differently upon it, the light is variously reflected. However, it casts up black clods of bitumen in many parts of it, these swim at the top of the water, and resemble both in shape and bigness headless bulls; and when the labourers that belong to the lake come to it, and catch hold of it as it hangs together, they draw it into their ships: but when the ship is full, it is not easy to cut off the rest, for it is so tenacious as to make the ship hang upon its clods till they set it loose with the menstrual blood of women, and with urine, to which alone it yields. This bitumen is not only useful for the caulking of ships, but for the cure of men's bodies: accordingly it is mixed in a great many medicines. The length of this lake is five hundred and eighty furlongs, where it is extended as far as Zoar in Arabia, and its breadth is an hundred and fifty. The country of Sodom * borders upon it. It was of old a most happy land, both for the fruits it bore and the riches of its cities, although it be now all burnt up. It is related how, for the impiety of its inhabitants, it was burnt by lightning; in consequence of which there are still the remainders of that divine fire, and the traces [or shadows] of the five cities are still to be seen, as well as the ashes growing in their fruits, which fruits have a colour as if they were fit to be eaten, but if you pluck them with your hands, they dissolve into smoke and ashes. And thus what is related of this land of Sodom hath these marks of credibility which our very sight affords us.

* See the note on B. V. chap. xiii. § 6.

CHAP. IX.

That Vespasian, after he had taken Gadara, made preparation for the siege of Jerusalem. But that, upon his hearing of the death of Nero, he changed his intentions. As also concerning Simon of Gerasa.

§ 1. And now Vespasian had fortified all the places round about Jerusalem, and erected citadels at Jericho and Adida, and placed garrisons in them both, partly out of their own Romans, and partly out of the body of his auxiliaries. He also sent Lucius Annius to Gerasa, and delivered to him a body of horsemen; and a considerable number of footmen. So when he had taken the city, which he did at the first onset, he slew a thousand of those young men who had not prevented him by flying away: but he took their families captive; and permitted his soldiers to plunder them of their effects; after which he set fire to their houses, and went away to the adjoining villages, while the men of power fled away, and the weaker part were destroyed, and what was remaining was all burnt down. And now the war having gone through all the mountainous country, and all the plain country also, those that were at Jerusalem were deprived of the liberty of going out of the city: for as to such as had a mind to desert, they were watched by the Zealots; and to such as were not yet on the side of the Romans, their army kept them in, by encompassing the city round about on all sides.

2. Now as Vespasian was returned to Cesarea, and was getting ready with all his army to march directly to Jerusalem, he was informed that Nero was dead, after he had reigned thirteen years and eight days; but as to any narration after what manner he abused his power in the government, and committed the management of affairs to those vile wretches Nymphidius and Tigellinus, his unworthy freed men: and how he had a plot laid against him by them, and was deserted by all his guards, and ran away with four of his most trusty freed men, and slew himself in the suburbs of Rome; and how those that occasioned his death were in no long time brought themselves to punishment; how also the war in Gall ended; and how * Galba was made emperor, and returned out of Spain to Rome; and how he was accused by the soldiers as a pusillanimous person, and slain by

* Of these Roman affairs and tumults under Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, here only touched upon by Josephus, see Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dio, more largely. However, we may observe with Ottias, that Josephus writes the name of the second of them not Otto, with many others, but Otho, with the coins. See also the note on ch. xi. § 4.

treachery in the middle of the market place at Rome, and Otho was made emperor; with his expedition against the commanders of Vitellius, and his destruction thereupon; and besides what troubles there were under Vitellius, and the fight that was about the capitol; as also how Antonius Primus and Mucianus slew Vitellius, and his German legions, and thereby put an end to that civil war; I have omitted to give an exact account of them, because they are well known by all, and they are described by a great number of Greek and Roman authors: yet for the sake of the connexion of matters, and that my history may not be incoherent, I have just touched upon every thing briefly. Wherefore Vespasian put off at first his expedition against Jerusalem, and stood waiting whither the empire would be transferred after the death of Nero. Moreover, when he heard that Galba was made emperor, he attempted nothing till he also should send him some directions about the war: however, he sent his son Titus to him, to salute him, and to receive his commands about the Jews. Upon the very same errand did king Agrippa sail along with Titus to Galba; but as they were sailing in their long ships by the coasts of Achaia, for it was winter time, they heard that Galba was slain, before they could get to him, after he had reigned seven months and as many days. After whom Otho took the government, and undertook the management of public affairs. So Agrippa resolved to go on to Rome without any terror, on account of the change in the government; but Titus, by a divine impulse, sailed back from Greece to Syria, and came in great haste to Cesarea, to his father. And now they were both in suspense about the public affairs, the Roman empire being then in a fluctuating condition, and did not go on with their expedition against the Jews, but thought that to make any attack upon foreigners was now unseasonable, on account of the solicitude they were in for their own country.

3. And now, there arose another war in Jerusalem. There was a son of Gioras, one Simon, by birth of Gerasa, a young man, not so cunning indeed as John [of Gischala] who had already seized upon the city, but superior in strength of body and courage; on which account, when he had been driven away from that Acrabattene toparchy, which he once had, by Ananus the high priest, he came to those robbers who had seized upon Masada. At the first they suspected him, and only permitted him to come with the woman he brought with him, into the lower part of the fortress, while they dwelt in the upper part of it themselves. However, his manner so well agreed with theirs, and he seemed so trusty a man, that he went out with them, and ravaged and destroyed the country with them about Masada; yet when he persuaded them to undertake greater things, he could not prevail with them so

to do; for as they were accustomed to dwell in that citadel, they were afraid of going far from that which was their hiding-place; but he affecting to tyrannize, and being fond of greatness, when he had heard of the death of Ananus, he left them, and went into the mountainous part of the country. So he proclaimed liberty to those in slavery, and a reward to those already free, and got together a set of wicked men from all quarters.

4. And as he had now a strong body of men about him, he over-ran the villages that lay in the mountainous country, and when there were still more and more that came to him, he ventured to go down into the lower parts of the country, and since he was now become formidable to the cities many of the men of power were corrupted by him; so that his army was no longer composed of slaves and robbers, but a great many of the populace were obedient to him as to their king. He then over-ran the Acrabattene toparchy, and the places that reached as far as the Great Idumea; for he built a wall at a certain village called Nain, and made use of that as a fortress for his own party's security; and at the valley called Paran, he enlarged many of the caves, and many others he found ready for his purpose; these he made use of as repositories for his treasures, and receptacles for his prey, and therein he laid up the fruits that he had got by rapine; and many of his partizans had their dwelling in them, and he made no secret of it that he was exercising his men before-hand, and making preparations for the assault of Jerusalem.

5. Whereupon the Zealots, out of the dread they were in of his attacking them, and being willing to prevent one that was growing up to oppose them, went out against him with their weapons. Simon met them, and joining battle with them, slew a considerable number of them, and drove the rest before him into the city, but durst not trust so much upon his forces, as to make an assault upon the walls; but he resolved first to subdue Idumea, and as he had now twenty thousand armed men, he marched to the borders of their country. Hereupon the rulers of the Idumeans got together on the sudden the most warlike part of their people, about twenty-five thousand in number, and permitted the rest to be a guard to their own country, by reason of the incursions that were made by the Sicarii that were at Masada. Thus they received Simon at their borders, where they fought him, and continued the battle all that day, and the dispute lay whether they had conquered him or been conquered by him. So he went back to Nain, as did the Idumeans return home. Nor was it long ere Simon came violently again upon their country; when he pitched his camp at a certain village called Thecoe, and sent Eleazar, one of his companions to

those that keep garrison at Herodium, and in order to persuade them to surrender that fortress to him. The garrison received this man readily; while they knew not of what he came about, but as soon as he talked of the surrender of the place, they fell upon him with their drawn swords, till he found that he had no place for flight, when he threw himself down from the wall into the valley beneath; so he died immediately: but the Idumeans who were already much afraid of Simeon's power, thought fit to take a view of the enemy's army before they hazarded a battle with them.

6. Now, there was one of their commanders named Jacob, who offered to serve them readily upon that occasion, but had it in his mind to betray them. He went therefore from the village Alurus, wherein the army of the Idumeans were gotten together, and came to Simon, and at the very first he agreed to betray his country to him, and took assurances upon oath from him, that he should always have him in esteem, and then promised him, that he would assist him in subduing all Idumea under him; upon which account he was feasted after an obliging manner by Simon, and elevated by his mighty promises, and when he was returned to his own men, he at first belied the army of Simon, and said it was manifold more in number than what it was; after which, he dexterously persuaded the commanders, and by degrees the whole multitude, to receive Simeon, and to surrender the whole government up to him, without fighting. And as he was doing this, he invited Simon by his messengers, and promised him to disperse the Idumeans, which he performed also, for as soon as their army was nigh them, he first of all got upon his horse, and fled, together with those whom he had corrupted; hereupon a terror fell upon the whole multitude, and before it came to a close fight, they broke their ranks, and every one retired to his own home.

7. Thus did Simon unexpectedly march into Idumea, without bloodshed, and made a sudden attack upon the city Hebron and took it; wherein he got possession of a great deal of prey, and plundered it of a vast quantity of fruit. Now the people of the country say, that it is an ancienter city, not only than any in that country, but than Memphis in Egypt, and accordingly its age is reckoned at two thousand and three hundred years. They also relate, that it had been the habitation of Abram, the progenitor of the Jews, after he had removed out of Mesopotamia; and they say, that his posterity descended from thence into Egypt, whose monuments are to this very time shewed in that small city; the fabric of which monuments are of the most excellent marble, and wrought after the most elegant manner. There is also there shewed, at the distance of six furlongs from

the city a very large * turpentine tree; and report goes, that this tree has continued ever since the creation of the world. Thence did Simon make his progress over all Idumea, and did not only ravage the cities and villages, but lay waste the whole country; for, besides those that were completely armed, he had forty thousand men that followed him, insomuch that he had not provisions enough to suffice such a multitude. Now, besides this want of provisions that he was in, he was of a barbarous disposition, and bore great anger at this nation, by which means it came to pass that Idumea was greatly depopulated; and as one may see all the woods behind despoiled of their leaves by locusts, after they have been there, so was there nothing left behind Simon's army but a desert. Some places they burnt down, some they utterly demolished, and whatsoever grew in the country, they either trod it down or fed upon it, and by their marches, they made the ground, that was cultivated, harder and more untractable than that which was barren. In short, there was no sign remaining of those places that had been laid waste, that ever they had had a being.

8. This success of Simon excited the Zealots afresh; and though they were afraid to fight him openly in a fair battle, yet did they lay ambushes in the passes, and seized upon his wife, with a considerable number of her attendants, whereupon they came back to the city rejoicing, as if they had taken Simon himself captive, and were in present expectation that he would lay down his arms, and make supplication to them for his wife; but instead of indulging any merciful affection, he grew very angry at them for seizing his beloved wife; so he came to the wall of Jerusalem, and, like wild beasts, when they are wounded, and cannot overtake those that wounded them, he vented his spleen upon all persons that he met with. Accordingly he caught all those that were come out of the city gates, either to gather herbs or sticks, who were unarmed, and in years; he then tormented them and destroyed them, out of the immense rage he was in, and was almost ready to taste the very flesh of their dead bodies. He also cut off the hands of a great many and sent them into the city to astonish his enemies, and in order to make the people fall into a sedition, and desert those that had been the authors of his wife's seizure. He also enjoined them to tell the people, that Simon swore by the God of the universe, who sees all things, that unless they will restore him his wife, he will break

* Some of the ancients call this famous tree, or grove, *oak*, others a *turpentine* tree, or grove. It has been very famous in all the past ages, and is so, I suppose at this day, and that particularly for an eminent mart, or meeting of merchants there every year, as the travellers inform us.

down their wall, and inflict the like punishment upon all the citizens, without sparing any age, and without making any distinction between the guilty and the innocent. These threatenings so greatly affrighted not the people only, but the Zealots themselves also, that they sent his wife back to him, when he became a little milder, and left off his perpetual blood shedding.

9. But now sedition and civil war prevailed, not only over Judea, but in Italy also; for now Galba was slain in the midst of the Roman market place; then was Otho made emperor, and fought against Vitellius, who set up for emperor also, for the legions in Germany had chosen him. But when he gave battle to Valens and Cecinna, who were Vitellius's generals at Betriacum in Gaul, Otho gained the advantage on the first day, but on the second day Vitellius's soldiers had the victory: and after much slaughter Otha slew himself, when he had heard of this defeat at Brixia, and after he had managed the public affairs * three months and two days. Otho's army also came over to Vitellius's generals, and he came himself down to Rome with his army. But in the mean time Vespasian removed from Cesarea, on the fifth day of the month Desius, [Sivan], and marched against those places of Judea which were not yet overthrown. So he went up to the mountainous country, and took those two toparchies that were called the Gophnitick and Acrabattene toparchies. After which he took Bethel and Ephraim, two small cities, and when he had put garrisons into them, he rode as far as Jerusalem, in which march he took many prisoners, and many captives; but Cerealis, one of his commanders, took a body of horsemen and footmen, and laid waste that part of Idumea which was called the Upper Idumea, and attacked Caphethra, which pretended to be a small city, and took it at the first onset and burnt it down. He also attacked Capharabim, and laid siege to it, for it had a very strong wall, and when he expected to spend a long time in that siege, those that were within opened their gates on the sudden, and came to beg pardon; and surrendered themselves up to him. When Cerealis had conquered them he went to Hebron, another very ancient city. I have told you already, that this city is situated in a mountainous country not far off Jerusalem; and when he had broken into the city by force, what multitude and young men were left therein he slew, and burnt down the city; so that as now all the places were taken, excepting Herodium, Masada, and Macherus, which were in the possession of the robbers, so Jerusalem was what the Romans at present aimed at.

* Suetonius differs hardly three days from Josephus, and says Otho perished on the 95th day of his reign. In Othon. See the note on chap. xi. sect. 4.

10. And now, as soon as Simon had set his wife free, and recovered her from the Zealots, he returned back to the remainders of Idumea, and driving the nation all before him, from all quarters, he compelled a great number of them to retire to Jerusalem; he followed them himself also to the city, and encompassed the wall all round again: and when he lighted upon any labourers that were coming thither out of the country he slew them. Now this Simon who was without the wall, was a greater terror to the people than the Romans themselves, as were the Zealots who were within it more heavy upon them than both of the others; and during this time did the mischievous contrivances and courage [of John] corrupt the body of the Galileans; for these Galileans had advanced this John, and made him very potent, who made them suitable requital from the authority he had obtained by their means; for he permitted them to do all things that any of them desired to do, while their inclination to plunder was insatiable, as was their zeal in searching the houses of the rich; and for the murdering of the men, and abusing of the women, it was sport to them. They also devoured what spoils they had taken, together with their blood, and indulged themselves in feminine wantonness, without any disturbance, till they were satiated therewith: while they decked their hair and put on women's garments, and were besmeared over with ointments; and that they might appear very comely, they had paints under their eyes, and imitated, not only the ornaments, but also the lusts of women, and were guilty of such intolerable uncleanness, that they invented unlawful pleasures of that sort; and thus did they roll themselves up and down the city, as in a brothel house, and defiled it entirely with their impure actions, nay, while their faces looked like the faces of women, they killed with their right hands, and when their gait was effeminate, they presently attacked men, and became warriors, and drew their swords from under their finely dyed cloaks, and ran every body through whom they alighted upon. However, Simon waited for such as ran away from John, and was the more bloody of the two: and he who had escaped the tyrant within the wall was destroyed by the other that lay before the gates, so that all attempts of flying and deserting to the Romans were cut off, as to those that had a mind so to do.

11. Yet did the army that was under John raise a sedition against him, and all the Idumeans separated themselves from the tyrant and attempted to destroy him, and this out of their envy at his power, and hatred of his cruelty; so they got together, and slew many of the Zealots, and drove the rest before them into that royal palace that was built by Grapte, who was a relation of Izates, the king of Adiabene; the Idumeans fell

in with them, and drove the Zealots out thence into the temple, and betook themselves to plunder John's effects; for both he himself was in that palace, and therein had he laid up the spoils he had acquired by his tyrants. In the mean time the multitude of those Zealots that were dispersed over the city ran together to the temple unto those that had fled thither, and John prepared to bring them down against the people, and the Idumeans, who were not so much afraid of being attacked by them, because they were themselves better soldiers than they, as at their madness, lest they should privately sally out of the temple and get among them, and not only destroy them, but set the city on fire also. So they assembled themselves together, and the high-priests with them, and took counsel after what manner they should avoid their assault. Now it was God who turned their opinions to the worst advice, and thence they devised such a remedy to get themselves free as was worse than the disease itself. Accordingly, in order to overthrow John, they determined to admit Simon, and earnestly to desire the introduction of a second tyrant into the city; which resolution they brought to perfection, and sent Matthias the high-priest, to beseech this Simon to come in to them, of whom they had so often been afraid. Those also that had fled from the Zealots in Jerusalem, joined in this request to him, out of the desire they had of preserving their houses and their effects. Accordingly he, in an arrogant manner granted them his lordly protection, and came into the city, in order to deliver it from the Zealots. The people also made joyful acclamations to him, as their saviour, and their preserver: but when he was come in, with his army, he took care to secure his own authority, and looked upon those that had invited him in, to be no less his enemies, than those against whom the invitation was intended.

12. And thus did Simon get possession of Jerusalem, in the third year of the war, in the month Xanthicus, [Nisan], whereupon John, with his multitude of Zealots, as being both prohibited from coming out of the temple, and having lost their power in the city, (for Simon and his party had plundered them of what they had), were in despair of deliverance. Simon also made an assault upon the temple, with the assistance of the people, while the others stood upon the cloisters and the battlements, and defended themselves from their assaults. However, a considerable number of Simon's party fell, and many were carried off wounded; for the Zealots threw their darts easily from a superior place, and seldom failed of hitting their enemies; but having the advantage of situation, and having withal erected four very large towers aforehand, that their darts might come from higher places, one at the north-east corner of the court,

one above the Xystus, the third at another corner, over against the lower city, and the last was erected above the top of the Pastophoria, where one of the priests stood of course, and gave * a signal before-hand, with a trumpet, at the beginning of every seventh day, in the evening twilight, as also at the evening when that day was finished, as giving notice to the people when they were to leave off work, and when they were to go to work again. These men also set their engines to cast darts and stones withal, upon those towers, with their archers and slingers. And now Simon made his assault upon the temple more faintly, by reason that the greatest part of his men grew weary of that work; yet did he not leave off his opposition, because his army was superior to the others, although the darts which were thrown by the engines were carried a great way, and slew many of those that fought for him.

CHAP. X.

How the soldiers, both in Judea and Egypt, proclaimed Vespasian emperor. And how Vespasian released Josephus of his bonds.

§ 1. Now about this very time it was that heavy calamities came about Rome on all sides; for Vitellius was come from Germany, with his soldiery, and drew along with him a great multitude of other men besides. And when the spaces allotted for soldiers could not contain them, he made all Rome itself his camp, and filled all the houses with his armed men; which men, when they saw the riches of Rome with those eyes which had never seen such riches before, and found themselves shone round about on all sides with silver and gold, they had much ado to contain their covetous desires, and were ready to betake themselves to plunder, and to the slaughter of such as should stand in their way. And this was the state of affairs in Italy at that time.

2. But when Vespasian had overthrown all the places that were near to Jerusalem, he returned to Cesarea, and heard of the troubles that were at Rome, and that Vitellius was emperor. This produced indignation in him, although he well knew how

* This beginning and ending the observation of the Jewish seventh day, or Sabbath, with a priest's blowing of a trumpet, is remarkable, and no where else mentioned, that I know of. Nor is Reland's conjecture here improbable, that this was the very place that has puzzled our commentators so long, called "Musach Sabbati," the "Covert of the Sabbath," if that be the true reading, 2 Kings xvi. 18. because here the proper priest stood dry, under a "covering," to proclaim the beginning and ending of every Jewish Sabbath.

to be governed as well as to govern, and could not, with any satisfaction own him for his lord, who acted so madly and seized upon the government, as if it were absolutely destitute of a governor. And as this sorrow of his was violent, he was not able to support the torments he was under, nor to apply himself farther in other wars, when his native country was laid waste; but then, as much as his passion excited him to avenge his country, so much was he restrained by the consideration of his distance therefrom; because fortune might prevent him, and do a world of mischief before he could himself sail over the sea to Italy, especially as it was still the winter season: so he restrained his anger, how vehement soever it was, at this time.

3. But now his commanders and soldiers met in several companies, and consulted openly about changing the public affairs, and out of their indignation, cried out, how, " At Rome there " are soldiers that live delicately, and when they have not ventur- " ed so much as to hear the fame of war, they ordain whom they " please for our governors, and in hopes of gain make them empe- " rors; while you who have gone through so many labours, and " are grown into years under your helmets, give leave to others " to use such a power, when yet you have among yourselves " one more worthy to rule than any whom they have set up. Now " what juster opportunity shall they ever have of requiting their " generals, if they do not make use of this that is now before " them? while there is so much juster reasons for Vespasian's " being emperor than for Vitellius; as they are themselves " more deserving than those that made the other emperors; for " that they have undergone as great wars as have the troops that " come from Germany; nor are they inferior in war to those " that have brought that tyrant to Rome, nor have they under- " gone smaller labours than they; for that neither will the Ro- " man senate, nor people, bear such a lascivious emperor as Vi- " tellius, if he be compared with their chaste Vespasian; nor will " they endure a most barbarous tyrant, instead of a good go- " vernor, nor choose one that hath * no child, to preside over " them, instead of him that is a father; because the advance- " ment of men's own children to dignities is certainly the great- " est security kings can give for themselves. Whether, there- " fore, we estimate the capacity of governing from the skill of a " person in years, we ought to have Vespasian or whether from

* The Roman authors that now remain, say, Vitellius had children, whereas Josephus introduces here the Roman soldiers in Judea saying, he had none. Which of these assertions was the truth I know not. Spanheim thinks he hath given a peculiar reason for calling Vitellius " childless," though he really had children. Diss. de Num. pages 649, 650. to which it appears very difficult to give our assent.

"the strength of a young man, we ought to have Titus; for "by this means we shall have the advantage of both their ages, "for that they will afford strength to those that shall be made "emperors, they having already three legions, besides other aux-"iliaries from the neighbouring kings, and will have farther "all the armies in the east to support them, as also those in Eu-"rope, so far as they are out of the distance and dread of Vitel-"lius, besides such auxiliaries as they may have in Italy itself, "that is Vespasian's * brother, and his other son [Domitian]; "the one of which will bring in a great many of those young "men that are of dignity, while the other is entrusted with the "government of the city, which office of his will be no small "means of Vespasian's obtaining the government. Upon the "whole, the case may be such, that if we ourselves make farther "delays, the senate may choose an emperor, whom the soldiers, "who are the saviours of the empire, will have in contempt."

4. These were the discourses the soldiers had in their several companies, after which they got together in a great body, and, encouraging one another, they declared Vespasian † emperor, and exhorted him to save the government which was now in danger. Now Vespasian's concern had been for a considerable time about the public, yet did he not intend to set up for governor himself, though his actions shewed him to deserve it, while he preferred that safety which is in a private life, before the dangers in a state of such dignity: but while he refused the empire, the commanders insisted the more earnestly upon his acceptance, and the soldiers came about him, with their drawn swords in their hands, and threatened to kill him, unless he would now live according to his dignity. And when he had shewed his reluctance a great while, and had endeavoured to thrust away his dominion from him, he at length, being not able to persuade them, yielded to their solicitations that would salute him emperor.

5. So upon the exhortations of Mucianus, and the other commanders, that he would accept of the empire, and upon that of the rest of the army, who cried out, that they were willing to be led against all his opposers, he was in the first place intent

* This brother of Vespasian was Flavius Sabinus, as Suetonius informs us, in Vitell. sect. 15. and in Vespas. sect. 2. He is also named by Josephus presently, chap. xi. sect. 4.

† It is plain by the nature of the thing, as well as by Josephus and Eutropius, that Vespasian was first of all saluted emperor in Judea, and not till some time afterward in Egypt. Whence Tacitus's and Suetonius's present copies must be corrected, when they both say, that he was first proclaimed in Egypt, and that on the kalends of July, while they still say it was the fifth of the nones or ides of the same July before he was proclaimed in Judea. I suppose the month they there intended was June, and not July, as the copies now have it; nor does Tacitus's coherence imply less. See Essay on the Revelation, page 136.

upon gaining the dominion over Alexandria, as knowing that Egypt was of the greatest consequence, in order to obtain the entire government, because of its supplying of corn [to Rome], which corn if he could be master of, he hoped to dethrone Vitellius, supposing he should aim to keep the empire by force (for he would not be able to support himself, if the multitude at Rome should once be in want of food); and because he was desirous to join the two legions that were at Alexandria to the other legions that were with him. He also considered with himself, that he should then have that country for a defence to himself against the uncertainty of fortune. For * Egypt is hard to be entered by land, and hath no good havens by sea. It hath on the west the dry deserts of Libya, and on the south Siene, that divides it from Ethiopia, as well as the cataracts of the Nile, that cannot be sailed over, and on the east the Red Sea, extended as far as Coptus, and it is fortified on the north by the land that reaches to Syria, together with that called the Egyptian Sea, having no havens in it for ships. And thus is Egypt walled about on every side. Its length between Pelusium and Siene is two thousand furlongs, and the passage by sea from Plinthine to Pelusium, is three thousand six hundred furlongs. Its river Nile is navigable as far as the city called Elphantine, the forenamed cataracts hindering ships from going any farther. The haven also of Alexandria is not entered by the mariners without difficulty, even in times of peace; for the passage inward is narrow, and full of rocks, that lie under the water, which obliges the mariners to turn from a straight direction: its left side is blocked up by works made by men's hands on both sides; on its right side lies the island called Pharus, which is situated just before the entrance, and supports a very great tower, that affords the sight of a fire to such as sail within three hundred furlongs of it, that ships may cast anchor a great way off in the night time, by reason of the difficulty of sailing nearer. About this island are built very great piers, the handywork of men, against which, when the sea dashes itself, and its waves are broken against those boundaries, the navigation becomes very troublesome, and the entrance through so narrow a passage is rendered dangerous, yet is the haven itself, when you are got into it, a very safe one, and of thirty furlongs in largeness; into which is brought what the country wants in order to its happiness, as also what abundance the country affords more than it wants itself, is hence distributed into all the habitable earth.

6. Justly, therefore, did Vespasian desire to obtain that government, in order to corroborate his attempts upon the whole

* Here we have an authentic description of the bounds and circumstances of Egypt, in the days of Vespasian and Titus.

empire; so he immediately sent to Tiberius Alexander, who was then governor of Egypt and of Alexandria, and informed him what the army had put him upon, and how he, being forced to accept of the burden of the government, was desirous to have him for his confederate and supporter. Now as soon as ever Alexander had read this letter, he readily obliged the legions and the multitude to take the oath of fidelity to Vespasian, both which willingly complied with him, as already acquainted with the courage of the man, from that his conduct in their neighbourhood. Accordingly Vespasian looking upon himself as already entrusted with the government, got all things ready for his journey [to Rome.] Now fame carried this news abroad more suddenly than one could have thought, that he was emperor over the east, upon which every city kept festivals, and celebrated sacrifices and oblations for such good news, the legions also that were in Mysia and Pannonia, who had been in commotion a little before, on account of this insolent attempt of Vitellius, were very glad to take the oath of fidelity to Vespasian, upon his coming to the empire. Vespasian then removed from Cesarea to Berytus, where many embassages came to him from Syria, and many from other provinces, bringing with them from every city crowns, and the congratulations of the people. Mucianus came also, who was the president of the province, and told him with what alacrity the people [received the news of his advancement], and how the people of every city had taken the oath of fidelity to him.

7. So Vespasian's good fortune succeeded to his wishes every where, and the public affairs were, for the greatest part already in his hands: upon which he considered that he had not arrived at the government without divine Providence, but that a righteous kind of fate had brought the empire under his power; for as he called to mind the other signals, which had been a great many every where, that foretold he should obtain the government, so did he remember what Josephus had said to him when he ventured to foretel his coming to the empire while Nero was alive; so he was much concerned that this man was still in bonds with him. He then called for Mucianus, together with his other commanders and friends, and in the first place, he informed them what a valiant man Josephus had been, and what great hardships he had made him undergo in the siege of Jotapata. After that he related those * predictions

* As Daniel was preferred by Darius and Cyrus, on account of his having foretold the destruction of the Babylonian monarchy by their means, and the consequent exaltation of the Medes and Persians, Dan. v. vi. or rather, as Jeremiah, when he was a prisoner, was set at liberty, and honourably treated by Nebuzaradan, at the command of Nebuchadnezzar, on account of his having foretold the destruction of

of his which he had then suspected as fictions, suggested out of the fear he was in, but which had by time been demonstrated to be divine. "It is a shameful thing (said he,) that "this man who had foretold my coming to the empire before-"hand, and been the minister of a divine message to me, should "still be retained in the condition of a captive or prisoner." So he called for Josephus, and commanded that he should be set at liberty; whereupon the commanders promised themselves glorious things, from this requital Vespasian made to a stranger. Titus was then present with his father, and said, "O father, it is but just that the scandal [of a prisoner] should "be taken off Josephus, together with his iron chain. For if "we do not barely loose his bonds, but cut them to pieces, he "will be like a man that had never been bound at all." For that is the usual method as to such as have been bound without a cause. This advice was agreed to by Vespasian also; so there came a man in, and cut the chain to pieces; while Josephus received this testimony of his integrity for a reward, and was moreover esteemed a person of credit as to futurities also.

CHAP. XI.

That upon the conquest and slaughter of Vitellius, Vespasian hastened his journey to Rome, but Titus his son returned to Jerusalem.

§ 1. And now, when Vespasian had given answers to the embassages, and had disposed of the places of power * justly, and according to every one's deserts, he came to Antioch, and consulting which way he had best take, he preferred to go for Rome, rather than to march to Alexandria, because he saw that Alexandria was sure to him already, but that the affairs at Rome were put into disorder by Vitellius; so he sent Mucianus to Italy, and committed a considerable army both of horsemen and

Jerusalem by the Babylonians, Jer. xl. 1—7. so was our Josephus set at liberty, and honourably treated, on account of his having foretold the advancement of Vespasian and Titus to the Roman empire. All these are most eminent instances of the interposition of divine Providence, and of the certainty of divine predictions in the great revolutions of the four monarchies. Several such like examples there are, both in the sacred and other histories, as in the case of Joseph in Egypt, and of Jaddua the high priest, in the days of Alexander the Great, &c.

* This is well observed by Josephus, that Vespasian, in order to secure his success, and establish his government at first, distributed his offices and places upon the foot of justice, and bestowed them on such as best deserved them, and were best fit for them. Which wise conduct in a mere Heathen, ought to put those rulers and ministers of state to shame, who, professing Christianity, act otherwise, and thereby exposing themselves and their kingdoms to vice and destruction.

footmen to him; yet was Mucianus afraid of going by sea, because it was the middle of winter, and so he led his army on foot through Cappadocia and Phrygia.

2. In the mean time Antonius Primus took the third of the legions that were in Mysia, for he was president of that province, and made haste, in order to fight Vitellius; whereupon Vitellius sent away Cecinna, with a great army, having a mighty confidence in him, because of his having beaten Otho. Thus Cecinna marched out of Rome in great haste, and found Antonius about Cremona in Gall, which city is in the borders of Italy; but when he saw there that the enemy were numerous and in good order, he durst not fight them, and as he thought a retreat dangerous, so he began to think of betraying his army to Antonius. Accordingly he assembled the centurions and tribunes that were under his command, and persuaded them to go over to Antonius, and this by diminishing the reputation of Vitellius, and by exaggerating the power of Vespasian. He also told them, That "with the one there was no more than the bare name of "dominion, but with the other was the power of it. And that "it was better for them to prevent necessity, and gain favour, "and, while they were likely to be overcome in battle, to avoid "the danger before-hand, and go over to Antonius willingly; "that Vespasian was able of himself to subdue what had not yet "submitted, without their assistance, while Vitellius could not "preserve what he had already with it."

Cecinna said this, and much more to the same purpose, and persuaded them to comply with him, and both he and his army deserted; but still the very same night the soldiers repented of what they had done, and a fear seized on them, lest perhaps Vitellius who sent them should get the better: and drawing their swords, they assaulted Cecinna in order to kill him; and the thing had been done by them, if the tribunes had not fallen upon their knees, and besought them not to do it: so the soldiers did not kill him, but put him in bonds, as a traitor, and were about to send him to Vitellius. When [Antonius] Primus heard of this, he raised up his men immediately, and made them put on their armour, and led them against those that had revolted; hereupon they put themselves in order of battle, and made a resistance for a while, but were soon beaten, and fled to Cremona: then did Primus take his horsemen, and cut off their entrance into the city, and encompassed and destroyed a great multitude of them before the city, and fell into the city together with the rest, and gave leave to his soldiers to plunder it. And here it was, that many strangers, who were merchants, as well as many of the people of that country, perished, among them Vitellius's whole army, being thirty thousand and two hundred, while An-

tonius lost no more of those that came with him from Mysia than four thousand and five hundred: he then loosed Cecinna, and sent him to Vespasian to tell him the good news. So he came, and was received by him, and covered the scandal of his treachery, by the unexpected honours he received from Vespasian.

4. And now, upon the news that Antonius was approaching, Sabinus took courage at Rome, and assembled those cohorts of soldiers that kept watch by night, and in the night time seized upon the capitol, and, as the day came on, many men of character came over to him, with Domitian's brother's son, whose encouragement was of a very great weight for the compassing the government. Now Vitellius was not much concerned at this Primus, but was very angry with those that had revolted with Sabinus, and thirsting, out of his own natural barbarity, after noble blood, he sent out that part of the army which came along with him to fight against the capitol, and many bold actions were done on this side, and on the side of those that held the temple. But at last, the soldiers that came from Germany, being too numerous for the others, got the hill into their possession, where Domitian, with many other of the principal Romans providentially escaped, while the rest of the multitude were entirely cut to pieces, and Sabinus himself was brought to Vitellius and then slain; the soldiers also plundered the temple of its ornaments, and set it on fire. But now within a day's time came Antonius, with his army, and were met by Vitellius and his army; and having had a battle in three several places, the last were all destroyed. Then did Vitellius come out of the palace, in his cups, and satiated with an extravagant and luxurious meal, as in the last extremity, and being drawn along through the multitude, and abused with all sorts of torments, had his head cut off in the midst of Rome, having retained the government * eight months and five days, and had he lived much longer, I cannot but think the empire would not have been sufficient for his lust. Of the others that were slain, were numbered above fifty thousand. This battle was fought on the third day of the month Apelleus

* The numbers in Josephus, chap. ix, sect 2, 9, for Galba 7 months 7 days, for Otho 3 months 2 days, and here for Vitellius 8 months 5 days, do not agree with any Roman historians, who also disagree among themselves. And, indeed, Scaliger justly complains, as Dr. Hudson observes on chap. ix. sect. 2. that this period is very confused and uncertain in the ancient authors. They were probably some of them contemporary together for some time; one of the best evidences we have, I mean, Ptolemy's Canon, omits them all, as if they did not altogether reign one whole year, nor had a single Thoth, or New-year's day (which then fell upon Aug. 6.) in their entire reigns. Dio, also who says, that Vitellius reigned a year within ten days, does yet estimate all their reigns together at no more than one year one month and two days.

[Casleu]; on the next day Mucianius came into the city with his army, and ordered Antonius and his men to leave off killing; for they were still searching the houses, and killed many of Vitellius's soldiers, and many of the populace, as supposing them to be of his party, preventing by their rage any accurate distinction between them and others. He then produced Domitian, and recommended him to the multitude, until his father should come himself: so the people being now freed from their fears, made acclamations of joy for Vespasian, as for their emperor, and kept festival days for his confirmation, and for the destruction of Vitellius.

5. And now, as Vespasian was come to Alexandria, this good news came from Rome, and at the same time came embassies from all his own habitable earth, to congratulate him upon his advancement; and though this Alexandria was the greatest of all cities next to Rome, it proved too narrow to contain the multitude that then came to it. So upon this confirmation of Vespasian's entire government, which was now settled, and upon the unexpected deliverance of the public affairs of the Romans from ruin, Vespasian turned his thoughts to what remained unsubdued in Judea. However, he himself made haste to go to Rome, as the winter was now almost over, and soon set the affairs of Alexandria in order, but sent his son Titus, with a select part of his army, to destroy Jerusalem. So Titus marched on foot as far as Nicopolis, which is distant twenty furlongs from Alexandria; there he put his army on board some long ships, and sailed upon the river along the Mendesian Nomus, as far as the city Thmuis; there he got out of the ships, and walked on foot and lodged all night at a small city called *Tanis*. His second station was Heracleopolis, and his third Pelusium; he then refreshed his army at that place for two days, and on the third passed over the mouth of the Nile at Pelusium, he then proceeded one station over the desert, and pitched his camp at the temple of the * Casian Jupiter, and on the next day at Ostracine. This station had no water, but the people of the country make use of water brought from other places. After this he rested at Rhinocolura, and from thence he went to Raphia, which was his fourth station. This city is the beginning of Syria. For his fifth station he pitched his camp at Gaza; after which he came to Ascalon, and thence to Jamnia, and after that to Joppa, and from Joppa to Cesarea, having taken a resolution to gather all his other forces together at that place.

* There are coins of this Casian Jupiter still extant, as Spanheim here informs us.

BOOK V.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF NEAR SIX MONTHS.

[FROM THE COMING OF TITUS TO BESIEGE JERUSALEM, TO THE GREAT EXTREMITY TO WHICH THE JEWS WERE REDUCED.]

CHAP. I.

Concerning the seditions at Jerusalem; and what terrible miseries afflicted the city by their means.

§ 1. WHEN therefore Titus had marched over that desert which lies between Egypt and Syria, in the manner forementioned, he came to Cesarea, having resolved to set his forces in order at that place, before he began the war. Nay, indeed, while he was assisting his father at Alexandria, in settling that government which had been newly conferred upon them by God, it so happened, that the sedition at Jerusalem was revived, and parted into three factions, and that one faction fought against the other, which partition in such evil cases may be said to be a good thing, and the effect of divine justice. Now as to the attack the Zealots made upon the people, and which I esteem the beginning of the city's destruction, it hath been already explained after an accurate manner; as also whence it arose, and to how great a mischief it was increased. But for the present sedition, one should not mistake if he called it a sedition begotten by another sedition, and to be like a wild beast grown mad, which, for want of food from abroad, fell now upon eating its own flesh.

2. For Eleazer, the son of Simon, who made the first separation of the Zealots from the people; and made them retire into the temple, appeared very angry at John's insolent attempts, which he made every day upon the people; for this man never left off murdering: but the truth was, that he could not bear to submit to a tyrant who set up after him. So he being desirous of gaining the entire power and dominion to himself, revolted from John, and took to his assistance Judas, the son of Chelcias, and Simon the son of Ezron, who were among the men of greatest power. There was also with him Hezekiah the son of Chobar, a person of eminence. Each of these were followed by a great many of the Zealots; these seized upon the inner court *

* This appears to be the first time that the Zealots ventured to pollute this most sacred court of the temple, which was the court of the priests, wherein the

of the temple, and laid their arms upon the holy gates, and over the holy fronts of that court. And because they had plenty of provisions, they were of good courage, for there was a great abundance of what was consecrated to sacred uses, and they scrupled not the making use of them; yet were they afraid on account of their small number, and when they had laid up their arms there, they did not stir from the place they were in. Now as to John, what advantage he had above Eleazer in the multitude of his followers, the like disadvantage he had in the situation he was in, since he had his enemies over his head; and as he could not make any assault upon them without some terror, so was his anger too great to let them be at rest, nay, although he suffered more mischief from Eleazar and his party than he could inflict upon them, yet would he not leave off assaulting them, insomuch that there were continual sallies made one against another, and the temple was defiled every where with murders.

3. But now the tyrant Simon, the son of Gioras, whom the people had invited in, out of the hopes they had of his assistance in the great distresses they were in, having in his power the upper city, and a great part of the lower, did now make more vehement assaults upon John and his party, because they were fought against from above also; yet was he beneath their situation, when he attacked them, as they were beneath the attacks of the others above them. Whereby it came to pass, that John did both receive and inflict great damage, and that easily, as he was fought against on both sides; and the same advantage that Eleazar and his party had over him, since he was beneath them, the same advantage had he, by his higher situation, over Simon. On which account he easily repelled the attacks that were made from beneath, by the weapons thrown from their hands only; but was obliged to repel those that threw their darts from the temple above him, by his engines of war: for he had such engines as threw darts, and javelins, and stones, and that in no small number, by which he did not only defend himself from such as fought against him, but slew moreover many of the priests, as they were about their sacred ministrations. For notwithstanding these men were mad with all sorts of impiety, yet did they still admit those that desired to offer their sacrifices, although they took care to search the people of their own country before-hand, and both suspected and watched them; while they were not so much afraid of strangers, who, although they had gotten leave of them, how cruel soever they were, to come into

temple itself and the altar stood. So that the conjecture of those that would interpret that Zecharias, who was slain "between the temple and the altar," several months before, B. IV. ch. v. sect. 4. Vol. IV. as if he were slain there by these Zealots, is groundless, as I have noted on that place already.

that court, were yet often destroyed by this sedition; for those darts that were thrown by the engines, came with that force that they went over all the buildings, and reached as far as the altar and the temple itself, and fell upon the priests, and those * that were about the sacred offices; insomuch, that many persons who came thither with great zeal from the ends of the earth, to offer sacrifices at this celebrated place, which was esteemed holy by all mankind, fell down before their own sacrifices themselves, and sprinkled that altar which was venerable among all men, both Greeks and Barbarians, with their own blood; till the dead bodies of strangers were mingled together with those of their own country, and those of profane persons with those of the priests, and the blood of all sorts of dead carcases stood in lakes in the holy courts themselves. And now, "O most wretched city, what misery so great as this didst thou "suffer from the Romans, when they came to purify thee from "thy intestine hatred? For thou couldest be no longer a place "fit for God, nor couldst thou longer continue in being, after "thou hadst been a sepulchre for the bodies of thy own people, "and hadst made the holy house itself a burying-place in this "civil war of thine. Yet † mayest thou again grow better, it "perchance thou wilt hereafter appease the anger of that God "who is the author of thy destruction." But I must restrain myself from these passions by the rules of history, since this is not a proper time for domestical lamentations, but for historical narrations; I therefore return to the operations that follow in this sedition.

4. And now there were three treacherous factions in the city, the one parted from the other. Eleazar and his party, that kept the sacred first-fruits, came against John in their cups. Those that were with John plundered the populace, and went out with zeal against Simon. This Simon had his supply of provision from the city, in opposition to the seditious. When, therefore, John was assaulted on both sides, he made his men turn about, throwing his darts upon those citizens that came up against him, from the cloisters he had in his possession, while he opposed those that attacked him from the temple by his engines of war. And if at any time he was freed from those that were

* The Levites.

† This is an excellent reflection of Josephus, including his hopes of the restoration of the Jews upon their repentance. See Antiq. B. IV. ch. viii. sect. 46. Vol. I. which is the grand *Hope of Israel*, as Manasseh-ben-Israel, the famous Jewish rabbi, stiles it, in his small but remarkable treatise on that subject, of which the Jewish prophets are every where full. See the principal of those prophecies collected together at the end of the Essay on the Revelation, page 22, &c.

above him, which happened frequently, from their being drunk and tired, he sallied out with a great number upon Simon and his party; and this he did always in such parts of the city as he could come at, till he set on fire those houses that were full of corn*, and of all other provisions. The same thing was done by Simon, when upon the other's retreat, he attacked the city also; as if they had, on purpose, done it to serve the Romans, by destroying what the city had laid up against the siege, and by thus cutting off the nerves of their own power. Accordingly, it so came to pass, that all the places that were about the temple were burnt down, and were become an intermediate desert space; ready for fighting on both sides of it; and that almost all that corn was burnt, which would have been sufficient for a siege of many years. So they were taken by the means of the famine, which it was impossible they should have been, unless they had thus prepared the way for it by this procedure.

5. And now, as the city was engaged in a war on all sides, from these treacherous crowds of wicked men, the people of the city between them, were like a great body torn in pieces. The aged men and the women were in such distress by their internal calamities, that they wished for the Romans, and earnestly hoped for an external war, in order to their delivery from their domestical miseries. The citizens themselves were under a terrible consternation and fear; nor had they any opportunity of taking counsel, and of changing their conduct; nor were there any hopes of coming to an agreement with their enemies; nor could such as had a mind flee away; for guards were set at all places, and the heads of the robbers, although they were seditious one against another in other respects, yet did they agree in killing those that were for peace with the Romans, or were suspected of an inclination to desert to them, as their common enemies. They agreed in nothing but this, to kill those that were innocent. The noise also of those that were fighting was incessant, both by day and by night; but the lamentations of those that mourned exceeded the other; nor was there ever any occasion for them to leave off their lamentations, because their calamities came perpetually one upon another, although the deep consternation they were in, prevented their outward wailing; but being constrained by their fear to conceal their inward passions, they were inwardly tormented, without daring to open

* This destruction of such a vast quantity of corn and other provisions, as was sufficient for many years, was the direct occasion of that terrible famine which consumed incredible numbers of Jews in Jerusalem during its siege. Nor probably could the Romans have taken this city, after all, had not these seditious Jews been so infatuated, as thus madly to destroy, what Josephus here justly styles, "The nerves of their power."

their lips in groans. Nor was any regard paid to those that were still alive, by their relation; nor was there any care taken of burial for those that were dead; the occasion of both which was this, that every one despaired of himself; for those that were not among the seditious had no great desires of any thing, as expecting for certain that they should very soon be destroyed; but for the seditious themselves, they fought against each other, while they trod upon the dead bodies as they lay heaped one upon another, and taking up a mad rage from those dead bodies that were under their feet, became the fiercer thereupon. They, moreover, were still inventing somewhat or other, that was pernicious against themselves; and when they had resolved upon any thing, they executed it without mercy, and omitted no method of torment or of barbarity. Nay, John abused the sacred materials*, and employed them in the construction of his engines of war, for the people and the priests had formerly determined to support the temple, and raise the holy house twenty cubits higher, for king Agrippa, had at a very great expense, and with very great pains, brought thither such materials as were proper for that purpose, being pieces of timber very well worth seeing, both for their straightness and their largeness: but the war coming on, and interrupting the work, John had them cut, and prepared for the building him towers, he finding them long enough to oppose them from those his adversaries that fought from the temple that was above him. He also had them brought and erected behind the inner court over against the west end of the cloister, where alone†, he could erect them; whereas, the other side of that court had so many steps as would not let them come nigh enough the cloisters.

6. Thus did John hope to be too hard for his enemies by these engines constructed by his impiety; but God himself demonstrated that his pains would prove of no use to him, by bringing the Romans upon him, before he had reared any of his towers; for Titus, when he had gotten together part of his forces about him, and had ordered the rest to meet him at Jerusalem, marched out of Cesarea. He had with him those three legions that had accompanied his father, when he laid Judea waste, together with that twelfth legion which had been formerly beaten

* This timber, we see, was designed for the rebuilding those twenty additional cubits of the holy house above the hundred, which had fallen down some years before. See the note on Antiq. B. XV. ch. xi. sect 3. Vol. II.

† There being no gate on the west, and only on the west side of the court of the priests, and so no steps there; this was the only side that the seditious, under this John of Gischala, could bring their engines close to the cloisters of that court endways, though upon the floor of the court of Israel. See the scheme of that temple, in the description of the temples hereto belonging.

with Cestius; which legion, as it was otherwise remarkable for its valour; so did it march on now with great alacrity to avenge themselves on the Jews, as remembering what they had formerly suffered from them. Of these legions he ordered the fifth to meet him, by going through Emmaus, and the tenth to go up by Jericho; he also moved himself, together with the rest: besides which, marched those auxiliaries that came from the kings, being now more in number than before, together with a considerable number that came to his assistance from Syria. Those also that had been selected out of these four legions, and sent with Mucianius to Italy, had their places filled up out of these soldiers that came out of Egypt with Titus; which were two thousand men, chosen out of the armies at Alexandria. There followed him also three thousand drawn from those that guarded the river Euphrates; as also, there came Tiberias Alexander, who was a friend of his, most valuable, both for his good-will to him, and for his prudence. He had formerly been governor of Alexandria, but was now thought worthy to be general of the army [under Titus]. The reason of this was, that he had been the first who had encouraged Vespasian very lately to accept this his new dominion, and joined himself to him with great fidelity, when things were uncertain, and fortune had not yet declared for him. He also followed Titus as a counsellor, very useful to him in this war, both by his age and skill in such affairs.

CHAP. II.

How Titus marched to Jerusalem, and how he was in danger, as he was taking a view of the city. Of the place also where he pitched his camp.

§ 1. Now as Titus was upon his march into the enemy's country, the auxiliaries that were sent by the kings marched first, having all the other auxiliaries with them, after whom followed those that were to prepare the roads, and measure out the camp; then came the commanders' baggage, and after that the other soldiers, who were completely armed to support them; then came Titus himself, having with him another select body, and then came the pikemen; after whom came the horse belonging to that legion. All these came before the engines came, and after these engines, came the tribunes and the leaders of the cohorts, with their select bodies; after these came the ensigns, with the eagle; and before those ensigns came the trumpeters belonging to them: next these came the main body of the army in their ranks, eve-

ry legion being six deep; the servants belonging to every legion came after these; and before these last their baggage, the mercenaries came last, and those that guarded them brought up the rear. Now Titus, according to the Roman usage, went in the front of the army after a decent manner, and marched through Samaria to Gophna, a city that had been formerly taken by his father, and was then garrisoned by Roman soldiers: and when he had lodged there one night, he marched on in the morning; and when he had gone as far as a day's march, he pitched his camp at that valley which the Jews, in their own tongue, call *The Valley of Thorns*, near a certain village called Gabaoth-saul, which signifies *the Hill of Saul*, being distant from Jerusalem about thirty forlongs. There it was that he chose out six hundred select horsemen, and went to take a view of the city, to observe what strength it was of, and how courageous the Jews were; whether, when they saw him, and before they came to a direct battle, they would be affrighted and submit; for he had been informed what was really true, that the people who were fallen under the power of the seditious and the robbers, were greatly desirous of peace; but being too weak to rise up against the rest, they lay still.

2. Now, so long as he rode along the straight road which led to the wall of the city, nobody appeared out of the gates; but when he went out of that road, and declined towards the tower Plephinos, and led the band of horsemen obliquely, an immense number of the Jews leaped out suddenly at the towers called the *Women's Towers*, through that gate which was over against the monuments of Queen Helena, and intercepted his horse; and, standing directly opposite to those that still ran along the road, hindered them from joining those that had declined out of it. They intercepted Titus also, with a few others. Now it was here impossible for him to go forward, because all the places had trenches dug in them from the wall, to preserve the gardens round about, and were full of gardens obliquely situated, and of many hedges; and to return back to his own men, he saw it was also impossible, by reason of the multitude of the enemies that lay between them; many of whom did not so much as know that the king was in any danger*, but supposed him still among

* We may here note, that Titus is here called a *king* and *Cæsar* by Josephus, even while he was no more than the emperor's son, and general of the Roman army, and his father Vespasian was still alive; just as the New Testament says, *Archelaus reigned*, or *was king*, Mat. ii. 22. though he was properly no more than ethnarch, as Josephus assures us. Antiq. B. XVII. ch xi. sect. 4. Vol. III. Of the War, B. II. ch. vi. sect. 3. Vol. III. Thus also the Jews called the Roman emperors *kings*, though they never took that title to themselves: *We have got no king but Cæsar*, John xix. 15. *Submit to the king as supreme*, 1 Pet. ii. 13, 17; which is also the language of the Apostolical Constitutions, II. 11, 34. IV. 13.

them. So he perceived, that his preservation must be wholly owing to his own courage, and turned his horse about, and cried out aloud to those that were about him, to follow him, and ran with violence into the midst of his enemies, in order to force his way through them to his own men. And hence, we may principally learn, that both the success of wars and the dangers that * kings are in, are under the providence of God; for while such a number of darts, were thrown at Titus, when he had neither his head-piece on, nor his breast-plate, (for, as I told you, he went out not to fight, but to view the city,) none of them touched his body, but went aside without hurting him, as if all of them missed him on purpose, and only made a noise as they passed by him. So he diverted those perpetually with his sword that came on his side, and overturned many of those that directly met him, and made his horse ride over those that were overthrown. The enemy indeed made a shout at the boldness of Cæsar*, and exhorted one another to rush upon him. Yet did these against whom he marched fly away, and go off from him in great numbers; while those that were in the same danger with him kept up close to him, though they were wounded both on their backs and on their sides; for they had each of them but this one hope of escaping, if they could assist Titus in opening himself a way that he might not be encompassed round by his enemies before he got away from them. Now, there were two of those that were with him, but at some distance: the one of which the enemy encompassed round, and slew him with their darts, and his horse also; but the other they slew as he leaped down from his horse, and carried off his horse with them. But Titus escaped with the rest, and came safe to the camp. So this success of the Jews first attack raised their minds, and gave them an ill grounded hope; and this short inclination of fortune, on their side, made them very courageous for the future.

3. But now, as soon as that legion that had been at Emmaus was joined to Cæsar at night, he removed thence, when it was day, and came to a place called Scopus; from whence the city began already to be seen, and a plain view might be taken of the great temple. Accordingly, this place, on the north quarter of the city, and joining thereto, was a plain, and very properly named Scopus [the prospect,] and was no more than seven furlongs distant from it. And here it was that Titus ordered a camp to be fortified for two legions that were to be together

V. 19. VI. 2, 25. VII. 16. VIII. 2, 15.; and elsewhere in the New Testament, John xix. 15. Mat. x. 18 xvii. 25. 1 Tim. ii. 2. and in Josephus also; though I suspect Josephus particularly esteemed Titus joint king with his father, ever since his divine dreams that declared them both such, B. III. ch. viii. sect. 9. Vol. IV.

* See the above note.

but ordered another camp to be fortified, at three furlongs farther distance behind them, for the fifth legion; for he thought that, by marching in the night they might be tired, and might deserve to be covered from the enemy, and with less fear might fortify themselves; and, as these were now beginning to build, the tenth legion, which came through Jericho, was already come to the place, where a certain party of armed men had formerly lain, to guard that pass into the city, and had been taken before by Vespasian. These legions had orders to encamp at the distance of six furlongs from Jerusalem, at the mount called the * Mount of Olives, which lies over against the city on the east side, and is parted from it by a deep valley, interposed between them, which is named Cedron.

4. Now, when hitherto the several parties in the city had been dashing one against another perpetually, this foreign war now suddenly came upon them after a violent manner, put the first stop to their contentions one against another; and, as the seditious now saw with astonishment the Romans pitching three several camps, they began to think of an awkward sort of concord, and said one to another, "What do we here, and what do "we mean, when we suffer three fortified walls to be built, to "coop us in, that we shall not be able to breathe freely? while "the enemy is securely building a kind of city in opposition to "us, and while we sit still within our own walls, and become "spectators only of what they are doing, with our hands idle, "and our armour laid by, as if they were about somewhat that "was for our good and advantage. We are, it seems, (so did "they cry out) only courageous against ourselves, while the "Romans are likely to gain the city without bloodshed by our "sedition." Thus did they encourage one another when they were gotten together, and took their armour immediately, and ran out upon the tenth legion, and fell upon the Romans with great eagerness, and with a prodigious shout, as they were fortifying their camp. These Romans were caught in different parties, and this, in order to perform their several works, and on that account had in great measure, laid aside their arms; for they thought the Jews would not have ventured to make a sally upon them, and had they been disposed so to do, they supposed their sedition would have distracted them. So they were put into disorder unexpectedly; when some of them left their works they were about, and immediately marched off, while many ran to their arms, but were smitten and slain before they could turn

* This situation of the Mount of Olives, on the east of Jerusalem, at about the distance of five or six furlongs, with the valley of Cedron interposed between that mountain and the city, are things well known both in the Old and New Testament, in Josephus elsewhere, and in all the descriptions of Palestine.

back upon the enemy. The Jews became still more and more in number, as encouraged by the good success of those that first make the attack; and while they had such good fortune, they seemed both to themselves and to the enemy, to be many more than they really were. The disorderly way of their fighting, at first put the Romans also to a stand, who had been constantly used to fight skilfully in good order, and with keeping their ranks, and obeying the orders that were given them; for which reason the Romans were caught unexpectedly, and were obliged to give way to the assaults that were made upon them. Now when the Romans were overtaken, and turned back upon the Jews, they put a stop to their career, yet, when they did not take care enough of themselves through the vehemency of their pursuit, were wounded by them; but, as still more and more Jews sallied out of the city, the Romans were at length brought into confusion, and put to flight, and ran away from their camp. Nay, things looked as though the entire legion would have been in danger, unless Titus had been informed of the case they were in, and had sent them succours immediately. So he reproached them for their cowardice, and brought those back that were running away, and fell himself upon the Jews on their flank, with those select troops that were with him, and slew a considerable number, and wounded more of them, and put them all to flight, and made them run away hastily down the valley. Now, as these Jews suffered greatly in the declivity of the valley, so, when they were gotten over it, they turned about, and stood over against the Romans, having the valley between them, and there fought with them. Thus did they continue the fight till noon; but, when it was already a little after noon, Titus set those that came to the assistance of the Romans with him, and those that belonged to the cohorts, to prevent the Jews from making any more sallies, and then sent the rest of the legion to the upper part of the mountain, to fortify their camp.

5. This march of the Romans seemed to the Jews to be a flight; and as the watchman who was placed upon the wall, gave a signal by shaking his garment, there came out a fresh multitude of Jews, and that with such mighty violence, that one might compare it to the running of the most terrible wild beasts. To say the truth, none of those that opposed them could sustain the fury with which they made their attacks; but, as if they had been cast out of an engine, they brake the enemies' ranks to pieces, who were put to flight and ran away to the mountain. None but Titus himself, and a few others with him, being left in the midst of the acclivity. Now these others who were his friends, despised the danger they were in, and were ashamed to leave their general, earnestly exhorting

him "to give way to these Jews that are fond of dying, and not "to run into such dangers before those that ought to stay before him; to consider what his fortune was, and not, by supplying the place of a common soldier, to venture to turn back "upon the enemy so suddenly, and this because he was general "in the war, and lord of the habitable earth, on whose preservation the public affairs do all depend." These persuasions Titus seemed not so much as to hear, but opposed those that ran upon him, and smote them on the face; and, when he had forced them to go back, he slew them; he also fell upon great numbers as they marched down the hill, and thrust them forward; while those men were so amazed at his courage and his strength, that they could not fly directly to the city, but declined from him on both sides, and pressed after those that fled up the hill; yet did he still fall upon their flank, and put a stop to their fury. In the mean time, a disorder and a terror fell again upon those that were fortifying their camp at the top of the hill, upon their seeing those beneath them running away; insomuch that the whole legion was dispersed, while they thought that the sallies of the Jews upon them were plainly insupportable, and that Titus was himself put to flight; because they took it for granted, that, if he had staid, the rest would never have fled for it. Thus were they encompassed on every side by a kind of panic fear, and some dispersed themselves one way, and some another, till certain of them saw their general in the very midst of an action, and, being under great concern for him, they loudly proclaimed the danger he was in to the entire legion; and now shame made them turn back, and they reproached one another, that they did worse than run away, by deserting Cæsar. So they used their utmost force against the Jews, and declining from the strait declivity, they drove them on heaps into the bottom of the valley. Then did the Jews turn about and fight them; but as they were themselves retiring, and now, because the Romans had the advantage of the ground, and were above the Jews, they drove them all into the valley. Titus also pressed upon those that were near him, and sent the legion again to fortify their camp; while he, and those that were with him before, opposed the enemy, and kept them from doing farther mischief; insomuch, that if I may be allowed neither to add any thing out of flattery, nor to diminish any thing out of envy, but to speak the plain truth, Cæsar did twice deliver that entire legion when it was in jeopardy, and gave them a quiet opportunity of fortifying their camp.

CHAP. III.

How the sedition was again revived within Jerusalem, and yet the Jews contrived snares for the Romans. How Titus also threatened his soldiers for their ungovernable rashness.

§ 1. As now the war abroad ceased for a while, the sedition within was revived; and on the feast of unleavened bread, which was now come, it being the fourteenth day of the month Xanthicus [Nisan,] when it is believed the Jews were first freed from the Egyptians, Eleazar, and his party opened the gates of this [inmost court of the] temple, and admitted such of the people * as were desirous to worship God into it. But John made use of this festival as a cloak for his treacherous designs, and armed the most inconsiderable of his own party, the greater part of which were not purified, with weapons concealed under their garments, and sent them with great zeal into the temple, in order to seize upon it; which armed men, when they were gotten in, threw their garments away, and presently appeared in their armour. Upon which there was a very great disorder and disturbance about the holy house; while the people, who had no concern in the sedition, supposed that this assault was made against all without distinction; as the Zealots thought it was made against themselves only. So these left off guarding the gates any longer, and leaped down from their battlements before they came to an engagement, and fled away into the subterranean caverns of the temple; while the people that stood trembling at the altar, and about the holy house, were rolled on heaps together, and trampled upon, and

* Here we see the true occasion of those vast numbers of Jews that were in Jerusalem during this siege of Titus, and perished therein; that the siege began at the feast of the passover, when such prodigious multitudes of Jews and proselytes of the gate were come from all parts of Judea, and from other countries, in order to celebrate that great festival. See the note, B. VI. ch. ix. § 3. Tacitus himself informs us, that the number of men, women, and children in Jerusalem, when it was besieged by the Romans, as he had been informed, was 600,000. This information must have been taken from the Romans: for Josephus never mentions the number of those that were besieged, only he lets us know, that the vulgar, carried dead out of the gates, and buried at the public charges, was the like number of 600,000, ch. xiii. § 7. However, when Cestius Gallus came first to the siege, that sum in Tacitus is no way disagreeable to Josephus's history, though they were become much more numerous when Titus encompassed the city at the passover. As to the number that perished during this siege, Josephus assures us, as we shall see hereafter, they were 1,100,000, besides 97,000 captives. But Tacitus's history of the last part of this siege is not now extant; so we cannot compare his parallel numbers with those in Josephus.

were beaten both with wooden and with iron weapons without mercy. Such also, as had differences with others, slew many persons that were quiet, out of their own private enmity and hatred, as if they were opposite to the seditious; and all those that had formerly offended any of these plotters, were now known, and were now led away to the slaughter: and, when they had done abundance of horrid mischief to the guiltless, they granted a truce to the guilty, and let those go off that came out of the caverns. These followers of John also did now seize upon this inner temple, and upon all the warlike engines therein, and then ventured to oppose Simon. And thus that sedition, which had been divided into three factions, was now reduced to two.

2. But Titus, intending to pitch his camp nearer to the city than Scopus, placed as many of his choice horsemen and footmen as he thought sufficient, opposite to the Jews, to prevent their sallying out upon them, while he gave orders for the whole army to level the distance, as far as the wall of the city. So they threw down all the hedges and walls which the inhabitants had made about their gardens and groves of trees, and cut down all the fruit-trees that lay between them and the wall of the city, and filled up all the hollow places and the chasms, and demolished the rocky precipices with iron instruments; and thereby made all the place level from Scopus to Herod's monuments, which adjoined to the pool called the Serpent's Pool.

3. Now at this very time, the Jews contrived the following stratagems against the Romans. The bolder sort of the seditious went out at the towers, called the Women's Towers, as if they had been ejected out of the city by those who were for peace, and rambled about as if they were afraid of being assaulted by the Romans, and were in fear of one another; while those that stood upon the wall, and seemed to be of the peoples' side, cried out aloud for peace, and entreated they might have security for their lives given them, and called for the Romans, promising to open the gates to them; and as they cried out after that manner, they threw stones at their own people, as though they would drive them away from the gates. These also pretended that they were excluded by force, and that they petitioned those that were within to let them in; and rushing upon the Romans perpetually, with violence, they then came back, and seemed to be in great disorder. Now the Roman soldiers thought this cunning stratagem of theirs was to be believed real, and thinking they had the one party under their power, and could punish them as they pleased, and hoping that the other party would open their gates to them, set to the execution of

their designs accordingly. But for Titus himself, he had this surprising conduct of the Jews in suspicion; for whereas he had invited them to come to terms of accommodation, by Josephus, but one day before, he could then receive no civil answer from them; so he ordered the soldiers to stay where they were. However some of them that were set in the front of the works prevented him, and catching up their arms ran to the gates; whereupon those that seemed to have been ejected at the first retired: but as soon as the soldiers were gotten between the towers on each side of the gate, the Jews ran out and encompassed them round, and fell upon them behind, while that multitude which stood upon the wall, threw an heap of stones and darts of all kinds at them, insomuch, that they slew a considerable number, and wounded many more; for it was not easy for the Romans to escape, by reason those behind them pressed them forward; besides which, the shame they were under for being mistaken, and the fear they were in of their commanders, engaged them to persevere in their mistake; wherefore they fought with their spears a great while, and received many blows from the Jews, though indeed they gave them as many blows again, and at last repelled those that had encompassed them about, while the Jews pursued them as they retired, and followed them, and threw darts at them as far as the monuments of Queen Helena.

4. After this these Jews, without keeping any decorum, grew insolent upon their good fortune, and jested upon the Romans for being deluded by the trick they had put upon them, and making a noise with beating their shields, leaped for gladness, and made joyful exclamations; while these soldiers were received with threatenings by their officers, and with indignation by Cæsar himself, [who spake to them thus:] "These Jews, "which are only conducted by their madness, do every thing "with care and circumspection; they contrive stratagems, and "lay ambushes, and fortune gives success to their stratagems, "because they are obedient, and preserve their good will and "fidelity to one another; while the Romans, to whom fortune "uses to be ever subservient, by reason of their good order, "and ready submission to their commanders, have now had ill "success by their contrary behaviour, and by not being able to "restrain their hands from action, they have been caught; and "that which is the most to their reproach, they have gone on "without their commanders, in the very presence of Cæsar. "Truly, says Titus, the laws of war cannot but groan heavily, "as will my father also himself, when he shall be informed of "this wound that hath been given us, since he, who is grown "old in wars, did never make so great a mistake. Our laws

"of war do also ever inflict capital punishment on those that in "the least break into good order, while at this time they have "seen an entire army run into disorder. However, those that "have been so insolent shall be made immediately sensible, that "even they who conquer among the Romans without orders "for fighting are to be under disgrace." When Titus had enlarged upon this matter before the commanders, it appeared evident that he would execute the law against all those that were concerned; so these soldiers' minds sunk down in despair, as expecting to be put to death, and that justly and quickly. However, the other legions came round about Titus, and entreated his favour to these their fellow soldiers, and made supplication to him, that he would pardon the rashness of a few, on account of the better obedience of all the rest; and promised for them that they should make amends for their present fault, by their more virtuous behaviour for the time to come.

3. So Cæsar complied with their desires, and with what prudence dictated to him also; for he esteemed it fit to punish single persons by real executions, but that the punishment of great multitudes should proceed no farther than reproofs, so he was reconciled to the soldiers, but gave them a special charge to act more wisely for the future; and he considered with himself how he might be even with the Jews for their stratagem. And now, when the space between the Romans and the wall had been levelled, which was done in four days: and as he was desirous to bring the baggage of the army, with the rest of the multitude that followed him, safely to the camp, he set the strongest part of his army over against that wall which lay on the north quarter of the city, and over against the western part of it, and made his army seven deep, with the footmen placed before them, and the horsemen behind them, each of the last in three ranks, whilst the archers stood in the midst in seven ranks. And now as the Jews were prohibited, by so great a body of men, from making sallies upon the Romans, both the beasts that bare the burdens, and belonged to the three legions, and the rest of the multitude marched on without any fear. But as for Titus himself, he was but about two furlongs distant from the wall at that part of it where was the corner*, and over against that tower which was called Psephinus, at which tower the compass of the wall belonging to the north bended, and extended itself over against the west; but the other part of the army fortified itself at the tower called Hippicus, and was distant, in like manner, but two furlongs from the city. However,

* Perhaps, says Dr. Hudson, here was that gate, called the *Gate of the corner* in 2 Chron. xxvi. 9. See chap. 1. sect. 2.

the tenth legion continued in its own place, upon the Mount of Olives.

CHAP. IV.

The Description of Jerusalem.

§ 1. THE city of Jerusalem was fortified with three walls, on such parts as were not encompassed with unpassable valleys; for in such places it hath but one wall. The city was built upon two hills, which are opposite to one another, and have a valley to divide them asunder, at which valley the corresponding rows of houses on both hills end. Of these hills, that which contains the upper city is much higher, and in length more direct. Accordingly it was called the *Citadel*, by king David; he was the father of that Solomon who built this temple at the first; but it is by us called the *Upper Market-place.* But the other hill, which was called *Acra*, and sustains the lower city, is of the shape of a moon when she is horned; over against this there was a third hill, but naturally lower than Acra, and parted formerly from the other by a broad valley. However, in those times, when the Asamoneans reigned, they filled up that valley with earth, and had a mind to join the city to the temple. They then took off part of the heighth of Acra, and reduced it to a less elevation than it was before, that the temple might be superior to it. Now the valley of the Cheese-mongers, as it was called, and was that which we told you before distinguished the hill of the upper city from that of the lower, extended as far as Siloam; for that is the name of a fountain which hath sweet water in it, and this in great plenty also. But on the out-sides, these hills are surrounded by deep valleys, and by reason of the precipices to them belonging, on both sides they are every where unpassable.

2. Now, of these three walls, the old one was hard to be taken, both by reason of the valleys, and of that hill on which it was built, and which was above them. But besides that great advantage, as to the place where they were situated, it was also built very strong; because David, and Solomon, and the following kings were very zealous about this work. Now that wall began on the north, at the tower called *Hippicus*, and extended as far as the *Xistus*, a place so called, and then joining to the council-house, ended at the west cloister of the temple. But if we go to the other way westward, it began at the same place, and extended through a place called *Bethso*, to the gate of the Essens; and after that it went southward, having its bending above the fountain Siloam, where it also bends again to-

wards the east at Solomon's pool, and reaches as far as a certain place which they called *Ophlas*, where it was joined to the eastern cloister of the temple. The second wall took its beginning from that gate which they called *Genneth*, which belonged to the first wall; it only encompassed the northern quarter of the city, and reached as far as the tower Antonia. The beginning of the third wall was at the tower Hippicus, whence it reached as far as the north quarter of the city, and the tower Psephinus, and then was so far extended till it came over against the monuments of Helena, which Helena was queen of Adiabene the mother of Izates: it then extended farther to a great length, and passed by the sepulchral caverns of the kings, and bent again at the tower of the corner, at the monument which is called the *Monument of the Fuller*, and joined to the old wall at the valley called the *Valley of Cedron*. It was Agrippa who encompassed the parts added to the old city with this wall, which had been all naked before; for as the city grew more populous, it gradually crept beyond its old limits, and those parts of it that stood northward of the temple, and joined that hill to the city, made it considerably larger, and occasioned that hill, which is in number the fourth, and is called *Bezetha*, to be inhabited also. It lies over against the tower Antonia, but is divided from it by a deep valley, which was dug on purpose, and that in order to hinder the foundations of the tower of Antonia from joining to this hill, and thereby affording an opportunity for getting to it with ease, and hindering the security that arose from its superior elevation, for which reason also that depth of the ditch made the elevation of the towers more remarkable. This new built part of the city was called *Bezetha*, in our language, which if interpreted in the Grecian language, may be called *The New City*. Since, therefore its inhabitants stood in need of a covering, the father of the present king, and of the same name with him, Agrippa, began that wall we spoke of: but he left off building it when he had only laid the foundations, out of the fear he was in of Claudius Cæsar, lest he should suspect that so strong a wall was built in order to make some innovation in public affairs; for the city could no way have been taken, if that wall had been finished in the manner it was begun; as its parts were connected together by stones twenty cubits long and ten cubits broad, which could never have been either easily undermined by any iron tools, or shaken by any engines. The wall was, however, ten cubits wide, and it would probably have had an height greater than that, had not his zeal who began it been hindered from exerting itself. After this, it was erected with great diligence by the Jews, as high as twenty cubits, above which it had battlements of two

cubits, and turrets of three cubits altitude, insomuch that the entire altitude extended as far as twenty-five cubits.

3. Now the towers that were upon it were twenty cubits in breadth, and twenty cubits in height; they were square, and solid as was the wall itself, wherein the niceness of the joints; and the beauty of the stones were no way inferior to those of the holy house itself. Above this solid altitude of the towers, which was twenty cubits, there were rooms of great magnificence, and over them upper rooms, and cisterns to receive rain-water. They were many in number, and the steps by which you ascended up to them were every one broad: of these towers then the third wall had ninety, and the spaces between them were each two hundred cubits; but in the middle wall were forty towers, and the old wall was parted into sixty, while the whole compass of the city was thirty-three furlongs. Now the third wall was all of it wonderful; yet was the tower Psephinus elevated above it at the north-west corner, and there Titus pitched his own tent: for being seventy cubits high, it both afforded a prospect of Arabia at sun-rising, as well as it did of the utmost limits of the Hebrew possessions at the sea westward. Moreover, it was an octogon, and over against it was the tower Hippicus, and hard by two others were erected by king Herod, in the old wall. These were for largeness, beauty and strength, beyond all that were in the habitable earth; for besides the magnanimity of his nature, and his munificence towards the city on other occasions, he built these after such an extraordinary manner, to gratify his own private affections, and dedicated these towers to the memory of those three persons who had been the dearest to him, and from whom he named them. They were his brother, his friend, and his wife. This wife he had slain out of his love [and jealousy], as we have already related; the other two he lost in war, as they were courageously fighting. Hippicus, so named from his friend, was square, its length and breadth were each twenty-five cubits, and its heighth thirty, and it had no vacuity in it. Over this solid building, which was composed of great stones united together, there was a reservoir twenty cubits deep, over which there was an house of two stories, whose height was twenty-five cubits, and divided into several parts; over which were battlements of two cubits, and turrets all round of three cubits high, insomuch that the entire height added together amounted to four score cubits. The second tower, which he named from his brother Phasaelus, had its breadth and its height equal, each of them forty cubits: over which was its solid height of forty-cubits; over which a cloister went round about whose height was ten cubits, and it was cover-

ed from enemies by breast-works and bulwarks. There was also built over that cloister another tower, parted into magnificent rooms, and a place for bathing; so that this tower wanted nothing that might make it appear to be a royal palace. It was also adorned with battlements and turrets, more than was the foregoing, and the entire altitude was about ninety cubits; the appearance of it resembled the tower of Pharus, which exhibited a fire to such as sailed to Alexandria, but was much larger than it in compass. This was now converted to an house, wherein Simon exercised his tyrannical authority. The third tower was Mariamne, for that was the queen's name: it was solid as high as twenty cubits; its breadth and its length were twenty cubits, and were equal to each other: its upper buildings were more magnificent, and had greater variety than the other towers had; for the king thought it most proper for him to adorn that which was denominated from his wife, better than those denominated from men, as those were built stronger than this that bore his wife's name. The entire height of this tower was fifty cubits.

4. Now as these towers were so very tall, they appeared much taller by the place on which they stood; for that very old wall wherein they were, was built on an high hill, and was itself a kind of elevation that was still thirty cubits taller; over which were the towers situated, and thereby were made much higher to appearance. The largeness also of the stones was wonderful; for they were not made of common small stones, nor of such large ones only as men could carry, but they were of white marble cut out of the rock; each stone was twenty cubits in length and ten in breadth, and five in depth. They were so exactly united to one another, that each tower looked like one entire rock of stone, so growing naturally, and afterward cut by the hands of the artificers into their present shape and corners; so little or not at all, did their joints or connexion appear. Now as these towers were themselves on the north side of the wall, the king had a palace inwardly thereto adjoined, which exceeds all my ability to describe it; for it was so very curious as to want no cost nor skill in its construction, but was entirely walled about to the height of thirty cubits, and was adorned with towers at equal distances, and with large bed-chambers, that would contain beds for an hundred guests a-piece, in which the variety of the stones is not to be expressed: for a large quantity of those that were rare of that kind was collected together. Their roofs were also wonderful, both for the length of the beams, and the splendour of their ornament. The number of the rooms was also very great, and the variety of the figures

that were about them was prodigious their furniture was complete, and the greatest part of the vessels that were put in them were of silver and gold. There were besides many porticoes, one beyond another, round about, and in each of those porticoes curious pillars; yet were all the courts that were exposed to the air every where green. There were moreover several groves of trees, and long walks through them, with deep canals, and cisterns, that in several parts were filled with brazen statues, through which the water ran out. There were withal many dove courts * of tame pigeons about the canals. But indeed it is not possible to give a complete description of these palaces; and the very remembrance of them is a torment to one, as putting one in mind what vastly rich buildings that fire which was kindled by the robbers hath consumed; for these were not burnt by the Romans, but by these internal plotters, as we have already related, in the beginning of their rebellion. That fire began at the tower of Antonia, and went on to the palaces, and consumed the upper parts of the three towers themselves.

CHAP. V.

A Description of the Temple.

§ 1. Now this temple, as I have already said, was built upon a strong hill. At first the plain at the top was hardly sufficient for the holy house, and the altar, for the ground about it was very uneven, and like a precipice; but when king Solomon, who was the person that built the temple, had built a wall to it, on its east side, there was then added one cloister founded on a bank cast up for it, and on the other parts the holy house stood naked. But in future ages the people † added new banks, and

* These dove-courts in Josephus, built by Herod the Great, are in the opinion of Reland, the very same that were mentioned by the Talmudists, and named by them *Herod's dove courts.* Nor is there any reason to suppose otherwise, since in both accounts they were expressly tame pigeons which were kept in them.

† See the description of the temples hereto belonging, chap. xv. But note, that what Josephus here says, of the original scantiness of this mount Moriah, that it was quite too little for the temple, and that at first it held only one cloister or court of Solomon's building, and that the foundations were forced to be added long afterwards by degrees, to render it capable of the cloisters for the other courts, &c. is without all foundation in the scriptures, and not at all confirmed by his exacter account in the Antiquities. All that is, or can be true here is this, that when the court of the Gentiles was long afterward to be encompassed with cloisters, the southern foundation for these cloisters was found not to be large or firm enough, and was raised, and that additional foundation supported by great pillars and arches under ground, which Josephus speaks of elsewhere, Antiq. B. XV. ch. xi. sect. 5. Vol. II. and which Mr. Maundrel saw, and describes, p. 100, as extant under ground at this day.

the hill became a larger plain. They then broke down the wall on the north side, and took in as much as sufficed afterward for the compass of the entire temple. And when they had built walls on three sides of the temple round about, from the bottom of the hill, and had performed a work that was greater than could be hoped for, (in which work long ages were spent by them, as well as all their sacred treasures were exhausted, which were still replenished by those tributes which were sent to God from the whole habitable earth); they then encompassed their upper courts with cloisters, as well as they [afterward] did the lowest [court of the] temple. The lowest part of this was erected to the height of three hundred cubits, and in some places more, yet did not the entire depth of the foundations appear, for they brought earth and filled up the valleys, as being desirous to make them on a level with the narrow streets of the city; wherein they made use of stones of forty cubits in magnitude, for the great plenty of money they then had, and the liberality of the people, made this attempt of theirs to succeed to an incredible degree. And what could not be so much as hoped for as ever to be accomplished, was, by perseverance and length of time, brought to perfection.

2. Now for the works that were above these foundations, these were not unworthy of such foundations: for all the cloisters were double, and the pillars to them belonging were twenty-five cubits in height, and supported the cloisters. These pillars were of one entire stone each of them, and that stone was white marble; and the roofs were adorned with cedar, curiously graven. The natural magnificence, and excellent polish, and the harmony of the joints in these cloisters, afforded a prospect that was very remarkable; nor was it on the outside adorned with any work of the painter or engraver. The cloisters [of the outmost court] were in breadth thirty cubits, while the entire compass of it was by measure six furlongs, including the tower of Antonia; those entire courts that were exposed to the air were laid with stones of all sorts. When you go through these [first] cloisters, unto the second [court of the] temple, there was a partition made of stone all round, whose height was three cubits, its construction was very elegant; upon it stood pillars, at equal distances from one another, declaring the law of purity, some in Greek, and some in Roman letters, That *no foreigner should go within that sanctuary;* for that second [court of the] temple was called the *Sanctuary,* and was ascended to by fourteen steps from the first court. This court was four square, and had a wall about it peculiar to itself; the height of its buildings, although it were * on the outside forty cubits, was hidden

* What Josephus seems here to mean is this, that these pillars, supporting the

by the steps, and on the inside that height was but twenty-five cubits; for it being built over against an higher part of the hill with steps, it was no farther to be entirely discerned within, being covered by the hill itself. Beyond these fourteen steps there was the distance of ten cubits: this was all plain; whence there were other steps, each of five cubits a-piece, that led to the gates, which gates on the north and south sides were eight, on each of those sides four, and of necessity two on the east. For since there was a partition built for the women on that side, as the proper place wherein they were to worship, there was a necessity for a second gate for them: this gate was cut out of its wall, over against the first gate. There was also on the other sides one southern and one northern gate, through which was a passage into the court of the women: for as to the other gates, the women were not allowed to pass through them: nor when they went through their own gate could they go beyond their own wall. This place was allotted to the women of our own country, and of other countries, provided they were of the same nation, and that equally; the western side of this court had no gate at all, but the wall was built entire on that side. But then the cloisters which were betwixt the gates, extended from the wall inward, before the chambers: for they were supported by very fine and large pillars. These cloisters were single, and, excepting in their magnitude, were no way inferior to those of the lower court.

3. Now nine of these gates were on every side covered over with gold and silver, as were the jambs of their doors and their lintels: but there was one gate that was without the [inward court of] the holy house, which was of Corinthian brass, and greatly excelled those that were only covered over with silver and gold. Each gate had two doors, whose height was severally thirty cubits, and their breadth fifteen. However, they had large spaces within of thirty cubits, and had on each side-rooms, and those, both in breadth and in length, built like towers, and their height was above forty cubits. Two pillars did also support these rooms, and were in circumference twelve cubits. Now the magnitudes of the other gates were equal one to another;

cloisters in the second court, had their foundations or lowest parts as deep as the floor of the first or lowest court, but that so far of those lowest parts as were equal to the elevation of the upper floor above the lowest, were, and must be hidden on the inside by the ground or rock itself, on which that upper court was built: so that 40 cubits visible below, were reduced to 25 visible above, and implies the difference of their heights to be 15 cubits. The main difficulty lies here, how 14 or 15 steps should give an ascent of 15 cubits, half a cubit seeming sufficient for a single step. Possibly there were 14 or 15 steps at the partition wall, and 14 or 15 more thence into the court itself, which would bring the whole near to the just proportion. See sect. 5. *infra*. But I determine nothing.

but that over the Corinthian gate, which opened on the east over against the gate of the holy house itself, was much larger; for its height was fifty cubits, and its doors were forty cubits; and it was adorned after a most costly manner, as having much richer and thicker plates of silver and gold upon them than the other. These nine gates had that silver and gold poured upon them by Alexander the father of Tiberias. Now there were fifteen steps, which led away from the wall of the court of the women to this greater gate; whereas those that led thither from the other gates were five steps shorter.

4. As to the holy house itself, which was placed in the midst [of the inmost court], that most sacred place of the temple, it was ascended to by twelve steps; and in front its height and its breadth were equal, and each an hundred cubits, though it was behind forty cubits narrower, for on its front it had what may be styled shoulders on each side, that passed twenty cubits farther. Its first gate was seventy cubits high, and twenty-five cubits broad: but this gate had no doors; for it represented the universal visibility of heaven, and that it cannot be excluded from any place. Its front was covered with gold all over, and through it the first part of the house, that was more inward, did all of it appear; which, as it was very large, so did all the parts about the more inward gate appear to shine to those that saw them: but then, as the entire house was divided into two parts within, it was only the first part of it that was open to our view. Its height extended all along to ninety cubits in height, and its length was fifty cubits, and its breadth twenty. But that gate which was at this end of the first part of the house, was, as we have already observed, all over covered with gold, as was its whole wall about it: it had also golden vines above it, from which clusters of grapes hung as tall as a man's height. But then this house, as it was divided into two parts, the inner part was lower than the appearance of the outer, and had golden doors of fifty-five cubits altitude, and sixteen in breadth; but before these doors there was a veil of equal largeness with the doors. It was a Babylonian curtain, embroidered with blue, and fine linen, and scarlet and purple, and of a contexture that was truly wonderful. Nor was this mixture of colours without its mystical interpretation, but was a kind of image of the universe; for by the scarlet their seemed to be enigmatically signified fire, by the fine flax the earth, by the blue the air, and by the purple the sea; two of them having their colours the foundation of this resemblance; but the fine flax and the purple have their own origin for that foundation, the earth producing the one, and the sea the other. This curtain had also embroidered upon it all that was mystical in the heavens, excepting that of the [twelve] signs, representing living creatures.

5. When any persons entered into the temple, its floor received them. This part of the temple therefore was in height sixty cubits, and its length the same; whereas its breadth was but twenty cubits: but still that sixty cubits in length was divided again, and the first part of it was cut off at forty cubits, and had in it three things that were very wonderful and famous among all mankind, the candlestick, the table [of shew bread], and the altar of incense. Now the seven lamps signified the seven planets; for so many there were springing out of the candlestick. Now the twelve loaves that were upon the table signified the circle of the zodiac and the year; but the altar of incense, by its thirteen kinds of sweet smelling spices with which the sea replenished it, signified, that God is the possessor of all things that are both in the uninhabitable and habitable parts of the earth, and that they are all to be dedicated to his use. But the inmost part of the temple of all was of twenty cubits. This was also separated from the outer part by a veil. In this there was nothing at all. It was inaccessible and inviolable, and not to be seen by any; and was called the Holy of Holies. Now, about the sides of the lower part of the temple there were little houses, with passages out of one into another: there were a great many of them, and they were of three stories high; there were also entrances on each side into them from the gate of the temple. But the superior part of the temple had no such little houses any farther, because the temple was there narrower, and forty cubits higher, and of a smaller body than the lower parts of it. Thus we collect that the whole height, including the sixty cubits from the floor, amounted to an hundred cubits.

6. Now the outward face of the temple in its front wanted nothing that was likely to surprise either men's minds or their eyes; for it was covered all over with plates of gold of great weight, and at the first rising of the sun, reflected back a very fiery splendour, and made those who forced themselves to look upon it, to turn their eyes away, just as they would have done at the sun's own rays. But this temple appeared to strangers, when they were coming to it at a distance, like a mountain covered with snow; for, as to those parts of it that were not gilt, they were exceeding white. On its top it had spikes with sharp points, to prevent any pollution of it by birds sitting upon it. Of its stones some of them were forty-five cubits in length, five in height, and six in breadth. Before this temple stood the altar, fifteen cubits high, and equal both in length and breadth; each of which dimensions was fifty cubits. The figure it was built in was a square, and it had corners like horns; and the passage up to it was by an insensible acclivity. It was formed without any iron tool, nor did any such iron tool so much as touch it at any time. There was also a wall of partition, about

a cubit in height, made of fine stones, and so as to be grateful to the sight; this encompassed the holy house and the altar, and kept the people that were on the outside off from the priests. Moreover, those that had the gonorrhea and the leprosy were excluded out of the city entirely: women also, when their courses were upon them, were shut out of the temple; nor, when they were free from that impurity, were they allowed to go beyond the limit before mentioned: men also, that were not thoroughly pure, were prohibited to come into the inner [court of the] temple; nay, the priests themselves that were not pure, were prohibited to come into it also.

7. Now all those of the stock of the priests that could not minister by reason of some defect in their bodies, came within the partition, together with those that had no such imperfection, and had their share with them by reason of their stock, but still made use of none except their own private garments; for nobody but he that officiated had on his sacred garments; but then those priests that were without any blemish upon them, went up to the altar clothed in fine linen. They abstained chiefly from wine, out of this fear, lest otherwise they should transgress some rules of their ministration. The high priest did also go up with them; not always indeed, but on the seventh days and new moons, and if any festivals belonging to our nation, which we celebrate every year, happened. When he officiated, he had on a pair of breeches that reached beneath his privy parts to his thighs, and had on an inner garment of linen, together with a blue garment round without seam, with fringe work, and reaching to the feet. There were also golden bells that hung upon the fringes, and pomegranates intermixed among them. The bells signified thunder, and the pomegranates lightning. But that girdle that tied the garment to the breast, was embroidered with five rows of various colours, of gold, and purple, and scarlet, as also of fine linen and blue, with which colours we told you before the veils of the temple were embroidered also. The like embroidery was upon the ephod, but the quantity of gold therein was greater. Its figure was that of a stomacher for the breast. There were upon it two golden buttons like small shields, which buttoned the ephod to the garment: in these buttons were enclosed two very large and very excellent sardonyxes, having the names of the tribes of that nation engraved upon them; on the other part there hung twelve stones, three in a row one way, and four in the other; a sardius, a topaz, and an emerald; a curbuncle, a jasper, and a sapphire; an agate, an amethyst, and a ligure; an onyx, a beryl, and a chrysolite; upon every one of which was again engraved one of the forementioned names of the tribes. A mire also of fine linen encompassed his head, which was tied

by a blue ribband, about which there was another golden crown, in which was engraven the sacred name [of God]: it consists of four vowels. However, the high-priest did not wear these garments at other times, but a more plain habit; he only did it when he went into the most sacred part of the temple, which he did but once in a year, on that day when our custom is for all of us to keep a fast to God. And thus much concerning the city and the temple; but, for the customs and laws hereto relating, we shall speak more accurately another time; for there remain a great many things thereto relating, which have not been here touched upon.

8. Now, as to the tower of Antonia, it was situated at the corner of two cloisters of the court of the temple, of that on the west, and that on the north: it was erected upon a rock of fifty cubits in height, and was on a great precipice: it was the work of king Herod, wherein he demonstrated his natural magnanimity. In the first place, the rock itself was covered over with smooth pieces of stone, from its foundation, both for ornament, and that any one who would either try to get up or to go down it, might not be able to hold his feet upon it. Next to this, and before you come to the edifice of the tower itself, there was a wall three cubits high; but within that wall all the space of the tower of Antonia itself was built upon, to the height of forty cubits. The inward parts had the largeness and form of a palace, it being parted into all kinds of rooms and other conveniencies, such as courts, and places for bathing, and broad spaces for camps; insomuch that, by having all conveniences that cities wanted, it might seem to be composed of several cities, but by its magnificence it seemed a palace; and as the entire structure resembled that of a tower, it contained also four other distinct towers at its four corners; whereof the others were but fifty cubits high; whereas that which lay upon the south-east corner was seventy cubits high, that from thence the whole temple might be viewed, but on the corner, where it joined to the two cloisters of the temple, it had passages down to them both, through which the guard (for there always lay in this tower a Roman legion) went several ways among the cloisters, with their arms, on the Jewish festivals, in order to watch the people, that they might not there attempt to make any innovations; for the temple was a fortress that guarded the city, as was the tower of Antonia a guard to the temple; and in that tower were the guards * of those three. There was also a peculiar fortress belonging to the upper city, which was Herod's palace; but, for the hill Bezetha, it was di-

* Those three guards that lay in the tower of Antonia must be those that guarded the city, the temple, and the tower of Antonia.

vided from the tower of Antonia, as we have already told you; and as that hill on which the tower of Antonia stood, was the highest of these three, so did it adjoin to the new city, and was the only place that hindered the sight of the temple on the north. And this shall suffice at present to have spoken about the city and the walls about it, because I have proposed to myself to make a more accurate description of it elsewhere.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning the tyrants Simon and John. How also, as Titus was going round the wall of the city, Nicanor was wounded by a dart; which accident provoked Titus to press on the siege.

§ 1. Now the warlike men that were in the city, and the multitude of the seditious that were with Simon, were ten thousand, besides the Idumeans. Those ten thousand had fifty commanders, over whom this Simon was supreme. The Idumeans that paid him homage were five thousand, and had eight commanders, among whom those of greatest fame were Jacob the son of Sosas, and Simon the son of Cathlas. John, who had seized upon the temple, had six thousand armed men under twenty commanders: the Zealots also that had come over to him, and left off their opposition, were two thousand four hundred, and had the same commander that they had formerly, Eleazar, together with Simon the son of Arinus. Now, while these factions fought one against another, the people were their prey on both sides, as we have said already; and that part of the people which would not join with them in their wicked practices, were plundered by both factions. Simon held the upper city, and the great wall as far as Cedron, and as much of the old wall as bent from Siloam to the east, and which went down to the palace of Monobazus, who was king of the Adiabeni beyond Euphrates: he also held that fountain and the Acra, which was no other than the lower city; he also held all that reached to the palace of queen Helena the mother of Monobazus. But John held the temple, and the parts thereto adjoining, for a great way, as also Ophla, and the valley called *the Valley of Cedron;* and when the parts that were interposed between their possessions were burnt by them, they left a space wherein they might fight with each other; for this internal sedition did not cease even when the Romans were encamped near their very walls. But although they had grown wiser at the first onset the Romans made upon them, this lasted but a while; for they returned to their former madness, and separated one from another, and fought it out, and did every thing that the besiegers could desire them

for to do; they never suffered any thing that was worse from the Romans, than they made each other suffer: nor was there any misery endured by the city after these men's actions, that could be esteemed new. But it was most of all unhappy before it was overthrown, while those that took it, did it a greater kindness; for I venture to affirm, that the sedition destroyed the city, and the Romans destroyed the sedition, which it was a much harder thing to do, than to destroy the walls; so that we may justly ascribe our misfortunes to our own people, and the just vengeance taken on them to the Romans; as to which matter let every one determine by the actions on both sides.

2. Now, when affairs within the city were in this posture, Titus went round the city on the outside with some chosen horsemen and looked about for a proper place where he might make an impression upon the walls; but as he was in doubt where he could possibly make an attack on any side, (for the place was no way accessible where the valleys were, and on the other side the first wall appeared too strong to be shaken by the engines;) he thereupon thought it best to make his assault upon the monument of John the high-priest; for there is was that the first fortification was lower, and the second was not joined to it, the builders neglecting to build the wall strong where the new city was not much inhabited; here also was an easy passage to the third wall, through which he thought to take the Upper city, and, through the tower of Antonia, the temple itself. But at this time, as he was going round about the city, one of his friends, whose name was Nicanor, was wounded with a dart on his left shoulder, as he approached, together with Josephus, too near the wall, and attempted to discourse to those that were upon the wall, about terms of peace; for he was a person known by them. On this account it was that Cæsar, as soon as he knew their vehemence, that they would not bear even such as approached them to persuade them to what tended to their own preservation, was provoked to press on the siege. He also at the same time gave his soldiers leave to set the suburbs on fire, and ordered that tney should bring timber together, and raise the banks against the city; and when he had parted his army in three parts in order to set about those works, he placed those that shot darts, and the archers in the midst of the banks that were then raising; before whom he placed those engines that threw javelins, and darts, and stones, that he might prevent the enemy from sallying out upon their works, and might hinder those that were upon the wall from being able to obstruct them. So the trees were now cut down immediately, and the suburbs left naked. But now while the timber was carrying to raise the banks, and the whole army was earnestly engaged in their works, the Jews

were not, however, quiet; and it happened that the people of Jerusalem, who had been hitherto plundered and murdered, were now of good courage, and supposed they should have a breathing time, while the others were very busy in opposing their enemies without the city, and that they should now be avenged on those that had been the authors of their miseries, in case the Romans did but get the victory.

3. However, John staid behind out of his fear of Simon, even while his own men were earnest in making a sally upon their enemies without. Yet did not Simon lie still, for he lay near the place of the siege; he brought his engines of war, and disposed of them at due distances upon the wall, both those which they took from Cestius formerly, and those which they got when they seized the garrison that lay in the tower Antonia. But though they had these engines in their possession, they had so little skill in using them, that they were in great measure useless to them; but a few there were who had been taught by deserters how to use them, which they did use tho' after an aukward manner. So they cast stones and arrows at those that were making the banks; they also ran out upon them by companies, and fought with them. Now those that were at work covered themselves with hurdles spread over their banks, and their engines were opposed to them when they made their excursions. The engines, that all the legions had ready prepared for them, were admirably contrived; but still more extraordinary ones belonged to the tenth legion; those that threw darts and those that threw stones, were more forcible and larger than the rest, by which they not only repelled the excursions of the Jews, but drove those away that were upon the walls also. Now, the stones that were cast were of the weight of a talent, and were carried two furlongs and farther. The blow they gave was no way to be sustained, not only by those that stood first in the way, but by those that were beyond them for a great space. As for the Jews, they at first watched the coming of the stone, for it was of a white colour, and could therefore not only be perceived by the great noise it made, but could be seen also before it came by his brightness; accordingly the watchman that sat upon the towers gave them notice when the engine was let go, and the stone came from it, and cried out aloud, in their own country language, THE SON COMETH*: so those that were in

* What should be the meaning of this signal or watchword, when the watchmen saw a stone coming from the engine, THE SON COMETH, or what mistake there is in the reading, I cannot tell. The MSS. both Greek and Latin, all agree in this reading: and I cannot approve of any groundless conjectural alteration of the text from υἱὸς to ἰὸς, that not the son or a stone, but that the arrow or dart cometh: as hath been made by Dr. Hudson, and not corrected by Havercamp.

its way stood off, and threw themselves down upon the ground; by which means, and by their thus guarding themselves, the stone fell down and did them no harm. But the Romans contrived how to prevent that, by blacking the stone, who then could aim at them with success, when the stone was not discerned before-hand, as it had been till then; and so they destroyed many of them at one blow. Yet did not the Jews under all this distress, permit the Romans to raise their banks in quiet; but they shrewdly and boldly exerted themselves, and repelled them both by night and by day.

4. And now, upon the finishing the Roman works, the workmen measured the distance there was from the wall, and this by lead and a line, which they threw to it from their banks, for they could not measure it any otherwise, because the Jews would shoot at them, if they came to measure it themselves; and when they found that the engines could reach the wall they brought them thither. Then did Titus set his engines at proper distances, so much nearer to the wall, that the Jews might not be able to repel them, and gave orders they should go to work; and when thereupon a prodigious noise echoed round about from three places, and that on the sudden there was a great noise made by the citizens that were within the city, and no less a terror fell upon the seditious themselves; whereupon both sorts seeing the common danger they were in, contrived to make a like defence. So those of different factions cried out one to another, that they acted entirely as in concert with their enemies; whereas they ought however, notwithstanding God did not grant them a last-

* Had Josephus written even his first edition of these books of the war in pure Hebrew, or had the Jews then used the pure Hebrew at Jerusalem, the Hebrew word for a son is so like that for a stone, *Bar* and *Eben*, that such a correction might have been more easily admitted. But Josephus wrote his former edition for the use of the Jews beyond Euphrates, and so in the Chaldee language, as he did this second edition in the Greek language; and *Ben* was the Chaldee word for son, instead of the Hebrew *Bar*, and, was used, not only in the Chaldee, &c. but in Judea also, as the New Testament informs us. Dio also lets us know, that the very Romans at Rome pronounced the name of Simon the son of Giora, Bar Poras for Bar Gorias, as we learn from Xiphiline, page 217. Reland takes notice, "That many "will here look for a mystery, as though the meaning were that the Son of God "came now to take vengeance on the sins of the Jewish nation;" which is indeed the truth of the fact, but hardly what the Jews could now mean; unless possibly by the way of derision of Christ's threatening so often made, that he would come at the head of the Roman army for their destruction. But even this interpretation has but a very small degree of probability. If I were to make an emendation, by mere conjecture, I would read πετρος instead of υιος, though the likeness be not so great as in ιος; because that is the word used by Josephus just before, as has been already noted, on this very occasion, while ιος, an arrow or dart, is only a poetical word, and never used by Josephus elsewhere, and is indeed no way suitable to the occasion, this engine not throwing arrows or darts, but great stones at this time.

ing concord, in their present circumstances to lay aside their enmities one against another, and to unite together against the Romans. Accordingly Simon gave those that came from the temple leave, by proclamation, to go upon the wall; John also himself, though he could not believe Simon was in earnest, gave them the same leave. So on both sides they laid aside their hatred and their peculiar quarrels, and formed themselves into one body; they then ran round the walls, and having a vast number of torches with them, they threw them at the machines, and shot darts perpetually upon those that impelled those engines which battered the wall; nay, the bolder sort leaped out by troops upon the hurdles that covered the machines, and pulled them to pieces, and fell upon those that belonged to them, and beat them, not so much by any skill they had, as principally by the boldness of their attacks. However, Titus himself still sent assistance to those that were the hardest set, and placed both horsemen and archers on the several sides of the engines, and thereby beat off those that brought the fire to them: he also thereby repelled those that shot stones or darts from the towers, and then set the engines to work in good earnest; yet did not the wall yield to these blows, excepting where the battering ram of the fifteenth legion moved the corner of a tower, while the wall itself continued unhurt; for the wall was not presently in the same danger with the tower, which was extant far above it; nor could the fall of that part of the tower easily break down any part of the wall itself together with it.

6. And now the Jews intermitted their sallies for a while but when they observed the Romans dispersed all abroad at their works, and in their several camps, (for they thought the Jews had retired out of weariness and fear,) they all at once made a sally at the tower Hippicus, through an obscure gate, and at the same time brought fire to burn the works, and went boldly up to the Romans, and to their very fortifications themselves, where at the cry they made, those that were near them came presently to their assistance, and those farther off came running after them: and here the boldness of the Jews was too hard for the good order of the Romans; and as they beat those whom they first fell upon, so they pressed upon those that were now gotten together: So this fight about the machines was very hot, while the one side tried hard to set them on fire, and the other side to prevent it, on both sides there was a confused cry made, and many of those in the forefront of the battle were slain. However, the Jews were now too hard for the Romans; by the furious assaults they made like madmen; and the fire caught hold of the works, and both all those works, and the engines themselves had been in danger of being burnt, had not many of these select soldiers that

came from Alexandria opposed themselves to prevent it; and had they not behaved themselves with greater courage than they themselves supposed they could have done; for they outdid those in this fight that had greater reputation than themselves before. This was the state of things till Cæsar took the stoutest of his horsemen, and attacked the enemy, while he himself slew twelve of those that were in the forefront of the Jews; which death of these men, when the rest of the multitude saw, they gave way, and he pursued them, and drove them all into the city, and saved the works from the fire. Now, it happened at this fight, that a certain Jew was taken alive, who, by Titus's order, was crucified before the wall, to see whether the rest of them would be affrighted, and abate of their obstinacy. But after the Jews were retired, John, who was commander of the Idumeans, and was talking to a certain soldier of his acquaintance before the wall, was wounded by a dart shot at him by an Arabian, and died immediately; leaving the greatest lamentation to the Jews, and sorrow to the seditious. For he was a man of great eminence, both for his actions and his conduct also.

CHAP. VII.

How one of the towers erected by the Romans fell down of its own accord; and how the Romans, after great slaughter had been made, got possession of the first wall. How also Titus made his assaults upon the second wall: as also concerning Longinus the Roman, and Castor the Jew.

§ 1. Now on the next night, a surprising disturbance fell upon the Romans; for whereas Titus had given orders for the erection of three towers of fifty cubits high, that by setting men upon them at every bank, he might from thence drive those away who were upon the wall, it so happened that one of these towers fell down about midnight; and as its fall made a very great noise, fear fell upon the army, and they, supposing that the enemy was coming to attack them, ran all to their arms. Whereupon a disturbance and a tumult arose among the legions, and as nobody could tell what had happened, they went on after a disconsolate manner; and seeing no enemy appear, they were afraid one of another, and every one demanded of his neighbour the watch-word with great earnestness, as though the Jews had invaded their camp. And now were they like people under a panic fear, till Titus was informed of what had happened, and gave orders that all should be acquainted with it; and then though with some difficulty, they got clear of the disturbance they had been under.

2. Now, these towers were very troublesome to the Jews, who otherwise opposed the Romans very courageously; for they shot at them out of their lighter engines from those towers, as they did also by those that threw darts, and the archers, and those that flung stones. For neither could the Jews reach those that were over them, by reason of their height, and it was not practicable to take them, nor to overturn them, they were so heavy, nor to set them on fire, because they were covered with plates of iron. So they retired out of the reach of the darts, and did no longer endeavour to hinder the impression of their rams, which, by continually beating upon the wall, did gradually prevail against it; so that the wall already gave way to the *Nico*, for by that name did the Jews themselves call the greatest of their engines, because it *conquered* all things. And now, they were for a long while grown weary of fighting, and of keeping guards, and were retired to lodge on the night-times at a distance from the wall. It was on other accounts also thought by them to be superfluous to guard the wall, there being besides that, two other fortifications still remaining, and they being slothful, and their counsels having been ill concerted on all occasions; so a great many grew lazy and retired. Then the Romans mounted the breach, where Nico had made one, and all the Jews left the guarding that wall, and retreated to the second wall; so those that had gotten over that wall opened the gates, and received all the army within it. And thus did the Romans get possession of this first wall, on the 15th day of the siege, which was the seventh day of the month Artimisius, [Jyar], when they demolished a greater part of it, as well as they did of the northern parts of the city, which had been demolished also by Cestius formerly.

3. And now, Titus pitched his camp within the city, at that place which was called the *Camp of the Assyrians*, having seized upon all that lay as far as Cedron, but took care to be out of the reach of the Jews's darts. He then presently began his attacks, upon which the Jews divided themselves into several bodies, and courageously defended that wall; while John, and his faction, did it from the tower of Antonia, and from the northern cloister of the temple, and fought the Romans before the monuments of king Alexander; and Simon's army also took for their share the spot of ground that was near John's monument, and fortified it as far as to that gate where water was brought in to the tower Hippicus. However, the Jews made violent sallies, and that frequently also, and in bodies together out of the gates, and there fought the Romans; and when they were pursued all together to the wall, they were beaten in those fights, as wanting the skill of the Romans. But when they fought them from the walls,

they were too hard for them; the Romans being encouraged by their power, joined to their skill, as were the Jews by their boldness, which was nourished by the fear they were in, and that hardiness which is natural to our nation under calamities; they were also encouraged still by the hope of deliverance, as were the Romans by their hopes of subduing them in a little time. Nor did either side grow weary; but attacks and fightings upon the wall, and perpetual sallies out in bodies were there all the day long; nor were there any sort of warlike engagements that were not then put in use. And the night itself had much ado to part them, when they began to fight in the morning, nay, the night itself was passed without sleep on both sides, and was more uneasy than the day to them, while the one was afraid lest the wall should be taken, and the other lest the Jews should make sallies upon their camps: both sides also lay in their armour during the night time, and thereby were ready at the first appearance of light to go to the battle. Now, among the Jews the ambition was who should undergo the first dangers, and thereby gratify their commanders. Above all, they had a great veneration and dread of Simon; and to that degree was he regarded by every one of those that were under him, that at his command, they were very ready to kill themselves with their own hands. What made the Romans so courageous was their usual custom of conquering and disuse of being defeated, their constant wars, and perpetual warlike exercises, and the grandeur of their dominion. And what was now their chief encouragement, Titus, who was present every where with them all; for it appeared a terrible thing to grow weary while Cæsar was there, and fought bravely as well as they did, and was himself at once an eye-witness of such as behaved themselves valiantly, and he who was to reward them also. It was, besides, esteemed an advantage at present to have any one's valour known by Cæsar, on which account many of them appeared to have more alacrity than strength to answer it. And now, as the Jews were about this time standing in array before the wall, and that in a strong body, and while both parties were throwing their darts at each other, Longinus, one of the equestrian order, leaped out of the army of the Romans, and leaped into the very midst of the army of the Jews; and as they dispersed themselves upon this attack he slew two of their men of the greatest courage; one of them he struck in his mouth as he was coming to meet him, the other was slain by him by that very dart which he drew out of the body of the other, with which he ran this man through his side, as he was running away from him; and when he had done this, he first of all ran out of the midst of his enemies to his own side. So this man signalized himself for his valour, and many there were who were

ambitious of gaining the like reputation. And now, the Jews were unconcerned at what they suffered themselves from the Romans, and were only solicitous about what mischief they could do them; and death itself seemed a small matter to them, if at the same time they could but kill any one of their enemies. But Titus took care to secure his own soldiers from harm, as well as to have them overcome their enemies. He also said, that inconsiderate violence was madness, and that this alone was the true courage, that was joined with good conduct. He therefore commanded his men to take care, when they fought their enemies, that they received no harm from them at the same time, and thereby shew themselves to be truly valiant men.

4. And now, Titus brought one of his engines to the middle tower of the north part of the wall, in which a certain crafty Jew, whose name was Castor, lay in ambush, with ten others like himself, the rest being fled away by reason of the archers. These men lay still for a while, as in great fear, under their breast-plates; but when the tower was shaken, they arose, and Castor did then stretch out his hand, as a petitioner, and called for Cæsar, and by his voice moved his compassion, and begged of him to have mercy upon them; and Titus, in the innocency of his heart, believing him to be in earnest, and hoping that the Jews did now repent, stopped the working of the battering-ram, and forbade them to shoot at the petitioners, and bid Castor say what he had a mind to say to him. He said, that he would come down, if he would give him his right hand for his security. To which Titus replied, that he was well pleased with such his agreeable conduct, and would be well pleased if all the Jews would be of his mind, and that he was ready to give the like security to the city. Now five of the ten dissembled with him, and pretended to beg for mercy, while the rest cried out aloud, that they would never be slaves to the Romans, while it was in their power to die in a state of freedom. Now while these men were quarrelling for a long while, the attack was delayed; Castor also sent to Simon, and told him that they might take some time for consultation about what was to be done, because he would elude the power of the Romans, for a considerable time. And at the same time that he sent thus to him, he appeared openly to exhort those that were obstinate to accept of Titus's hand for their security; but they seemed very angry at it, and brandished their naked swords upon the breast works, and struck themselves upon their breasts, and fell down, as if they had been slain. Hereupon Titus, and those with him, were amazed at the courage of the men; and as they were not able to see exactly what was done, they admired at their great fortitude, and pitied their calamity. During this interval, a certain person

shot a dart at Castor, and wounded him in his nose, whereupon he presently pulled out the dart, and shewed it to Titus, and complained that this was unfair treatment: So Cæsar reproved him that shot the dart, and sent Josephus, who then stood by him, to give his right hand to Castor. But Josephus, said that he would not go to him, because these pretended petitioners meant nothing that was good; he also restrained those friends of his who were zealous to go to him. But still there was one Eneas, a deserter, who said he would go to him. Castor also called to them, that somebody should come and receive the money which he had with him; this made Eneas the more earnestly to run to him with his bosom open. Then did Castor take up a great stone, and threw it at him, which missed him, because he guarded himself against it, but still it wounded another soldier that was coming to him. When Cæsar understood that this was a delusion, he perceived that mercy in war was a pernicious thing, because such cunning tricks have less place under the exercise of greater severity. So he caused the engine to work more strongly than before, on account of his anger at the deceit put upon him. But Castor and his companions set the tower on fire, when it began to give way, and leaped through the flame into an hidden vault that was under it, which made the Romans farther suppose that they were men of great courage, as having cast themselves into the fire.

CHAP. VIII.

How the Romans took the second wall twice, and got all ready for taking the third wall.

§ 1. Now Cæsar took this wall there on the fifth day after he had taken the first; and when the Jews had fled from him, he entered into it with a thousand armed men, and those of his choice troops, and this at a place where were the merchants of wool, the braziers, and the market for cloth, and where the narrow streets led obliquely to the wall. Wherefore, if Titus had either demolished a larger part of the wall immediately, or had come in, and, according to the law of war, had laid waste what was left, his victory would not I suppose, have been mixed with any loss to himself. But now, out of the hope he had that he should make the Jews ashamed of their obstinacy, by not being willing, when he was able, to afflict them more than he needed to do, he did not widen the breach of the wall, in order to make a safer retreat upon occasion; for he did not think they would lay snares for them that did them such a kindness. When therefore, he came in, he did not permit his sol-

diers to kill any of those they caught, nor to set fire to their houses neither; nay, he gave leave to the seditious, if they had a mind, to fight without any harm to the people, and promised to restore the people's effects to them; for he was very desirous to preserve the city for his own sake, and the temple for the sake of the city. As to the people, he had them of a long time ready to comply with his proposals; but as to the fighting men, this humanity of his seemed a mark of his weakness, and they imagined that he made these proposals because he was not able to take the rest of the city. They also threatened death to the people, if they should any one of them say a word about a surrender. They moreover cut the throats of such as talked of a peace, and then attacked those Romans that were come within the wall. Some of them they met in the narrow streets, and some they fought against from their houses, while they made a sudden sally out at the upper gates, and assaulted such Romans as were beyond the wall, till those that guarded the wall were so affrighted, that they leaped down from their towers, and retired to their several camps. Upon which a great noise was made by the Romans that were within, because they were encompassed round on every side by their enemies; as also by them that were without, because they were in fear of those that were left in the city. Thus did the Jews grow more numerous, perpetually, and had great advantages over the Romans, by their full knowledge of those narrow lanes; and they wounded a great many of them, and fell upon them, and drove them out of the city. Now these Romans were at present forced to make the best resistance they could, for they were not able, in great numbers, to get out at the breach in the wall, it was so narrow. It is also probable that all those that were gotten within had been cut to pieces, if Titus had not sent them succours: for he ordered the archers to stand at the upper ends of these narrower lanes, and he stood himself where was the greatest multitude of his enemies, and with his darts he put a stop to them; as with him did Domitius Sabinus also, a valiant man, and one that in this battle appeared so to be. Thus did Cæsar continue to shoot darts at the Jews continually, and to hinder them from coming upon his men, and this until all his soldiers had retreated out of the city.

2. And thus were the Romans driven out, after they had possessed themselves of the second wall. Whereupon the fighting men that were in the city were lifted up in their minds, and were elevated upon this their good success, and began to think that the Romans would never venture to come into the city any more; and that, if they kept within it themselves, they should not be any more conquered. For God had blinded their minds

for the transgressions they had been guilty of, nor could they see how much greater forces the Romans had than those that were now expelled, no more than they could discern how a famine was creeping upon them; for hitherto they had fed themselves out of the public miseries, and drank the blood of the city. But now poverty had for a long time seized upon the better part, and a great many had died already for want of necessaries; although the seditious indeed supposed the destruction of the people to be an easement to themselves; for they desired that none others might be preserved, but such as were against a peace with the Romans, and were resolved to live in opposition to them, and they were pleased when the multitude of those of a contrary opinion were consumed, as being then freed from an heavy burden. And this was their disposition of mind with regard to those that were within the city, while they covered themselves with their armour, and prevented the Romans, when they were trying to get into the city again, and made a wall of their own bodies over against that part of the wall that was cast down. Thus did they valiantly defend themselves for three days; but on the fourth day they could not support themselves against the vehement assaults of Titus, but were compelled by force to fly whither they had fled before; so he quietly possessed himself again of that wall, and demolished it entirely. And when he had put a garrison into the towers that were on the south parts of the city, he contrived how he might assault the third wall.

CHAP. IX.

Titus, when the Jews were not at all mollified by his leaving off the siege for a while, set himself again to prosecute the same; but soon sent Josephus to discourse with his own countrymen about peace.

§ 1. A Resolution was now taken by Titus to relax the siege for a little while, and to afford the seditious an interval for consideration, and to see whether the demolishing of their second wall would not make them a little more complaisant, or whether they were not somewhat afraid of a famine, because the spoils they had gotten by rapine would not be sufficient for them long; so he made use of this relaxation in order to compass his own designs. Accordingly, as the usual appointed time when he must distribute subsistence-money to the soldiers, was now come, he gave orders that the commanders should put the army into battle array, in the face of the enemy, and then give every one of the soldiers their pay. So the soldiers, ac-

cording to custom, opened the cases wherein before their arms lay covered, and marched with their breast-plates on, as did the horsemen lead their horses in their fine trappings. Then did the places that were before the city shine very splendidly for a great way; nor was there any thing either so grateful to Titus's own men, or so terrible to the enemy as that sight. For the whole old wall, and the north side of the temple, was full of spectators; and one might see the houses full of such as looked at them; nor was their any part of the city which was not covered over with their multitudes; nay, a very great consternation seized upon the hardiest of the Jews themselves, when they saw all the army in the same place, together with the fineness of their arms, and the good order of their men. And I cannot but think that the seditious would have changed their minds at that sight, unless the crimes they had committed against the people had been so horrid, that they despaired of forgiveness from the Romans; but as they believed death with torments must be their punishment, if they did not go on in the defence of the city, they thought it much better to die in war. Fate also prevailed so far over them, that the innocent were to perish with the guilty, and the city was to be destroyed with the seditious that were in it.

2. Thus did the Romans spend four days in bringing this subsistence-money to the several legions. But on the fifth day, when no signs of peace appeared to come from the Jews, Titus divided the legions, and began to raise banks, both at the tower of Antonia, and at John's monument. Now, his designs were to take the upper city at that monument, and the temple at the tower of Antonia; for if the temple were not taken, it would be dangerous to keep the city itself; so at each of these parts he raised him banks, each legion raising one. As for those that wrought at John's monument, the Idumeans, and those that were in arms with Simon, made sallies upon them, and put some stop to them; while John's party and the multitude of Zealots with them, did the like to those that were before the tower of Antonia. These Jews were now too hard for the Romans, not only in direct fighting, because they stood upon the higher ground, but because they had now learned to use their own engines, for their continual use of them one day after another did by degrees improve their skill about them; for of one sort of engines for darts they had three hundred, and forty for stones, by the means of which they made it more tedious for the Romans to raise their banks. But then Titus, knowing that the city would be either saved or destroyed for himself, did not only proceed earnestly in the siege, but did not omit to have the Jews exhorted to repentance; so he mixed good counsel with his works for the siege. And being

sensible that exhortations are frequently more effectual than arms, he persuaded them to surrender the city, now in a manner already taken, and thereby to save themselves, and sent Josephus to speak to them in their own language; for he imagined they might yield to the persuasion of a countryman of their own.

3. So Josephus went round about the wall, and tried to find a place that was out of the reach of their darts; and yet within their hearing, and besought them in many words, "To spare "themselves, to spare their country, and their temple, and not "to be more obdurate in these cases than foreigners themselves: "for that the Romans, who had no relation to those things, had "a reverence for their sacred rites and places, although they belonged to their enemies, and had till now kept their hands off "from meddling with them, while such as were brought up under them, and, if they be preserved, will be the only people "that will reap the benefit of them, hurry on to have them destroyed. That certainly they have seen their strongest walls "demolished, and that the wall still remaining was weaker than "those that were already taken. That they must know the "Roman power was invincible, and that they had been used to "serve them, for, that in case it be allowed a right thing to "fight for liberty, that ought to have been done at first; but "for them that have once fallen under the power of the Romans, "and have now submitted to them for so many long years, to "pretend to shake off that yoke afterward, was the work of "such as had a mind to die miserably, not of such as were "lovers of liberty. Besides, men may well enough grudge "at the dishonour of owning ignoble masters over them, but "ought not to do so to those who have all things under their "command; for what part of the world is there that hath "escaped the Romans, unless it be such as are of no use for violent cold! And evident it is, that fortune is on all hands gone "over to them; and that God, when he had gone round the nations with this dominion, is now settled in Italy. That moreover, it is a strong and fixed law, even among brute beasts, as "well as among men, to yield to those that are too strong for "them; and to suffer those to have the dominion, who are too "hard for the rest in war. For which reason it was, that their "forefathers, who were far superior to them, both in their souls "and bodies, and other advantages, did yet submit to the Romans, which they would not have suffered, had they not known "that God was with them. As for themselves, what can they "depend on in this their opposition, when the greatest part of "their city is already taken? and when those that are within "it are under greater miseries than if they were taken, although their walls be still standing? For that the Romans are

"not unacquainted with that famine which is in the city, whereby "the people are already consumed, and the fighting men will in "a little time be so too; for although the Romans should leave "off the siege, and not fall upon the city with their swords in "their hands, yet was there an insuperable war that beset them "within, and was augmented every hour unless they were "able to wage war with famine, and fight against it, or could "alone conquer their natural appetites." He added this farther, "How right a thing it was to change their conduct, before their "calamities were become incurable, and to have recourse to "such advice as might preserve them, while opportunity was "offered them for so doing. For that the Romans would not "be mindful of their past actions, to their disadvantage, unless "they persevered in their insolent behaviour to the end; be-"cause they were naturally mild in their conquests, and pre-"ferred what was profitable, before what their passions dictated "to them; which profit of theirs lay not in leaving the city "empty of inhabitants, nor the country desert: on which ac-"count Cæsar did now offer them his right hand for their se-"curity. Whereas, if he took the city by force, he would not "save any of them, and this especially, if they rejected his of-"fers in these their utmost distresses; for the walls that were "already taken, could not but assure them that the third wall "would quickly be taken also. And although their fortifications "should prove too strong for the Romans to break through "them, yet would the famine fight for the Romans against them."

4. While Josephus was making this exhortation to the Jews, many of them jested upon him from the wall, and many reproached him; nay, some threw their darts at him: but when he could not himself persuade them by such open good advice, he betook himself to the histories belonging to their own nation, and cried out aloud. "O miserable creatures! are you so unmindful of "those that used to assist you; that you will fight by your wea-"pons and by your hands against the Romans! When did we "ever conquer any other nation by such means? and when was "it that God, who is the Creator of the Jewish people, did not "avenge them when they had been injured? Will not you turn "again, and look back, and consider whence it is that you fight "with such violence, and how great a Supporter you have pro-"fanely abused? Will not you recal to mind the prodigious "things done for your forefathers and this holy place, and how "great enemies of yours were by him subdued under you? I "even tremble myself, in declaring the works of God before "your ears that are unworthy to hear them: however, hearken "to me, that you may be informed how you fight not only against "the Romans, but against God himself. In old times there was

"one Necao, king of Egypt, who was also called *Pharaoh*; he "came with a prodigious army of soldiers, and seized Queen "Sarah, the mother of our nation. What did Abraham our "progenitor then do? Did he defend himself from this inju- "rious person by war, although he had three hundred and "eighteen captains under him and an immense army under "each of them! Indeed he deemed them to be no number at "all without God's assistance, and only spread out his hands* "towards this holy place, which you have now polluted, and "reckoned upon him as upon his invincible supporter, instead "of his own army. Was not our queen, sent back without any "defilement to her husband, the very next evening? while the "king of Egypt fled away, adoring this place which you have "defiled by shedding thereon the blood of your own countrymen, "and he also trembled at those visions which he saw in the "night season, and bestowed both silver and gold on the Hebrews, "as on a people beloved by God. Shall I say nothing, or shall "I mention the removal of our fathers into Egypt, who when "they were used tyrannically, and were fallen under the power "of foreign kings for four hundred years together, and might "have defended themselves by war and by fighting, did yet do "nothing but commit themselves to God! Who is there that "does not know how Egypt was over-run with all sorts of "wild beasts, and consumed by all sorts of distempers? how their "land did not bring forth its fruit? how the Nile failed of water? "how the ten plagues of Egypt followed one upon another? "and how by those means our fathers were sent away under a "guard without any bloodshed, and without running any dan- "gers, because God conducted them as his peculiar servants! "Moreover did not Palestine groan under the ravage the As- "syrians † made, when they carried away our sacred ark? "as did their idol Dagon, and as also did that entire nation of

* Josephus supposes, in this his admirable speech to the Jews, that not Abraham only, but Pharaoh king of Egypt, prayed toward a temple at Jerusalem, or towards Jerusalem itself, in which were Mount Sion, and Mount Moriah, on which the tabernacle and temple did afterwards stand; and this long before either the Jewish tabernacle or temple were built. Nor is the famous command given by God to Abraham, to go two or three days journey, on purpose to offer up his son Isaac there, unfavourable to such a notion.

† Note here, that Josephus, in this his same admirable speech calls the Syrians, nay even the Philistines on the most south part of Syria, Assyrians; which Reland observes as what was common among the ancient writers. Note also, that Josephus might well put the Jews in mind, as he does here more than once, of their wonderful and truly miraculous deliverance from Sennacherib king of Assyria, while the Roman army, and himself with them, were now encamped upon and beyond that very spot of ground where the Assyrian army lay 780 years before, and which retained the very name of the Camp of the Assyrians to that very day. See chap. vii. § 3. and chap. xii. § 2.

"those that carried it away, how they were smitten with a loathsome distemper in the secret parts of their bodies, when their very bowels came down together with what they had eaten, till those hands that stole it away were obliged to bring it back again, and that with the sound of cymbals and timbrels, and other oblations, in order to appease the anger of God for their violation of his holy ark. It was God who then became our general, and accomplished these great things for our fathers, and this because they did not meddle with war and fighting, but committed it to him to judge about their affairs. When Sennacherib, king of Assyria, brought along with him all Asia, and encompassed this city round with his army, did he fall by the hand of men? were not those hands lifted up to God in prayers, without meddling with their arms, when an angel of God destroyed that prodigious army in one night? when the Assyrian king, as he rose the next day, found an hundred fourscore and five thousand dead bodies, and when he, with the remainder of his army, fled away from the Hebrews, though they were unarmed, and did not pursue them. You are also acquainted with the slavery we were under at Babylon, where the people were captives for seventy years; yet were they not delivered into freedom again, before God made Cyrus his gracious instrument in bringing it about; accordingly they were set free by him, and did again restore the worship of their deliverer at his temple. And, to speak in general, we can produce no example wherein our fathers got any success by war, or failed of success, when without war they committed themselves to God. When they staid at home, they conquered, as pleased their judge, but when they went out to fight, they were always disappointed; for example, when the king of Babylon besieged this very city, and our king Zedekiah fought against him, contrary to what predictions were made to him by Jeremiah the prophet, he was at once taken prisoner, and saw the city and the temple demolished. Yet how much greater was the moderation of that king, than is that of your present governors, and that of the people then under him, than is that of you at this time? for when Jeremiah cried out aloud, how very angry God was at them, because of their transgression, and told them they should be taken prisoners, unless they would surrender up their city, neither did the king nor the people put him to death: but for you, (to pass over what you have done within the city, which I am not able to describe, as your wickedness deserves,) you abuse me, and throw darts at me, who only exhort you to save yourselves, as being provoked when you are put in mind of your sins,

"and cannot bear the very mention of those crimes which you
"every day perpetrate. For another example, when Antiochus,
"who was called Epiphanes, lay before this city, and had been
"guilty of many indignities against God, and our forefathers
"met him in arms, they then were slain in the battle, this city
"was plundered by our enemies, and our sanctuary made de-
"solate for three years and six months. And what need I
"bring any more examples? Indeed what can it be that hath
"stirred up an army of the Romans against our nation? Is it
"not the impiety of the inhabitants? Whence did our servi-
"tude commence? Was it not derived from the seditions that
"were among our forefathers, when the madness of Aristobu-
"lus and Hyrcanus, and our mutual quarrels, brought Pom-
"pey upon this city, and when God reduced those under sub-
"jection to the Romans, who were unworthy of the liberty they
"had enjoyed. After a siege, therefore, of three months, they
"were forced to surrender themselves, although they had not
"been guilty of such offences with regard to our sanctuary and
"our laws, as you have; and this while they had much great-
"er advantages to go to war then you have. Do not we know
"what end Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, came to, under
"whose reign God provided that this city should be taken a-
"gain upon account of the people's offences? When Herod,
"the son of Antipater, brought upon us Sosius, and Sosius
"brought upon us the Roman army, they were then encompass-
"ed and besieged for six months, till as a punishment for their
"sins they were taken, and the city was plundered by the e-
"nemy. Thus it appears, that arms were never given to our
"nation, but that we are always given up to be fought against,
"and to be taken; for I suppose, that such as inhabit this ho-
"ly place ought to commit the disposal of all things to God,
"and then only to disregard the assistance of men, when they re-
"sign themselves up to their Arbitrator, who is above. As
"for you, what have you done of those things that are recom-
"mended by our Legislator? and what have you not done of
"those things that he hath condemned? How much more im-
"pious are you than those which were so quickly taken? You
"have not avoided so much as those sins that are usually done
"in secret; I mean thefts, and treacherous plots against men,
"and adulteries. You are quarrelling about rapines and mur-
"ders, and invent strange ways of wickedness. Nay, the tem-
"ple itself is become the receptacle of all, and this divine place
"is polluted by the hands of those of our own country; which
"place hath yet been reverenced by the Romans, when it was at
"a distance from them, when they have suffered many of their
"own customs to give place to our law. And, after all this,

" do you expect him whom you have so impiously abused to be " your supporter? To be sure then you have a right to be petitioners, and to call upon him to assist you, so pure are your " hands! Did your king [Hezekiah] lift up such hands in prayer to God against the king of Assyria, when he destroyed that " great army in one night? And do the Romans commit such " wickedness, as did the king of Assyria, that you may have " reason to hope for the like vengeance upon them? Did not " that king accept of money from our king on this condition, " that he should not destroy this city, and yet, contrary to the " oath he had taken, he came down to burn the temple? while " the Romans do demand no more than that accustomed tribute " which our fathers paid to their fathers; and if they may but " once obtain that, they neither aim to destroy this city, nor to " touch this sanctuary; nay, they will grant you besides, that " your posterity shall be free, and your possessions secured to " you, and will preserve your holy laws inviolate to you. And " it is plain madness to expect, that God should appear as well " disposed towards the wicked as towards the righteous, since " he knows when it is proper to punish men for their sins immediately: accordingly he brake the power of the Assyrians " the very first night that they pitched their camp. Wherefore, " had he judged that our nation was worthy of freedom, or the " Romans of punishment, he had immediately inflicted punishment upon those Romans, as he did upon the Assyrians, when " Pompey began to meddle with our nation, or when after him " Sosius came up against us, or when Vespasian laid waste Galilee, or, lastly, when Titus came first of all near to the city; " although Magnus and Sosius did not only suffer nothing, but " took the city by force; as did Vespasian go from the war he " made against you to receive the empire; and as for Titus, " those springs that were formerly almost dried up * when they " were under your power, since he is come, run more plentifully than they did before; accordingly you know that Siloam, as well as all the other springs that were without the " city, did so far fail, that water was sold by distinct measures; " whereas they now have such a great quantity of water for " your enemies, as is sufficient not only for drink both for " themselves and their cattle, but for watering their gardens

* This drying up of the Jerusalem fountain of Siloam, when the Jews wanted it, and its flowing abundantly when the enemies of the Jews wanted it, and these both in the days of Zedekiah and of Titus, (and this last as a certain event well known by the Jews at that time, as Josephus here tells them openly to their faces,) are very remarkable instances of a divine Providence for the punishment of the Jewish nation, when they were grown very wicked, at both those times of the destruction of Jerusalem.

"also. The same wonderful sign you had also experience of "formerly, when the forementioned king of Babylon made war "against us, and when he took the city, and burnt the temple; "while yet I believe the Jews of that age were not so impious "as you are. Wherefore I cannot but suppose that God is "fled out of his sanctuary, and stands on the side of those a- "gainst whom you fight. Now even a man, if he be but a "good man, will fly from an impure house, and will hate those "that are in it; and do you persuade yourselves that God will "abide with you in your iniquities, who sees all secret things, "and hears what is kept most private? Now what crime is "there I pray you, that is so much as kept secret among you, "or is concealed by you? nay, what is there that is not open "to your very enemies? for you shew your transgressions af- "ter a pompous manner, and contend one with another which "of you shall be more wicked than another; and you make a "public demonstration of your injustice, as if it were virtue. "However, there is place left for your preservation, if you be "willing to accept of it; and God is easily reconciled to those "that confess their faults, and repent of them. O hard hearted "wretches as you are! cast away all your arms, and take pity "of your country already going to ruin, return from your "wicked ways, and have regard to the excellency of that city "you are going to betray, to that excellent temple with the "donations of so many countries in it. Who could bear to be "the first that should set that temple on fire? who could be "willing that these things should be no more? and what is "there that can better deserve to be preserved? O insensible "creatures, and more stupid than are the stones themselves! "And if you cannot look at these things with discerning eyes, "yet however, have pity upon your families, and set before e- "very one of your eyes, your children, and wives, and parents, "which will be gradually consumed either by famine or by "war. I am sensible that this danger will extend to my mother, "and wife, and to that family of mine which hath been by no "means ignoble, and indeed to one that hath been very emi- "nent in old time; and perhaps you may imagine that it is on "their account only that I give you this advice: if that be all "kill them; nay, take my own blood as a reward, if it may "but procure your preservation; for I am ready to die, in case "you will but return to a sound mind after my death."

CHAP. X.

How a great many of the people earnestly endeavoured to desert to the Romans; as also what intolerable things those that staid behind suffered by famine, and the sad consequences thereof.

§ 1. As Josephus was speaking thus with a loud voice, the seditious would neither yield to what he said, nor did they deem it safe for them to alter their conduct; but as for the people, they had a great inclination to desert to the Romans; accordingly some of them sold what they had, and even the most precious things that had been laid up as treasures by them, for a very small matter, and swallowed down pieces of gold, that they might not be found out by the robbers; and when they had escaped to the Romans, went to stool, and had wherewithal to provide plentifully for themselves, for Titus let a great number of them go away into the country, whether they pleased. And the main reasons why they were so ready to desert were these, that now they should be freed from those miseries which they had endured in that city, and yet should not be in slavery to the Romans: however, John and Simon, with their factions, did more carefully watch these men's going out, than they did the coming in of the Romans; and, if any one did but afford the least shadow of suspicion of such an intention, his throat was cut immediately.

2. But as for the richer sort, it proved all one to them whether they staid in the city, or attempted to get out of it; for they were equally destroyed in both cases; for every such person was put to death under this pretence, that they were going to desert, but in reality that the robbers might get what they had. The madness of the seditious did also increase together with their famine, and both those miseries were every day inflamed more and more; for there was no corn which any where appeared publicly, but the robbers came running into, and searched men's private houses; and then, if they found any, they tormented them, because they had denied they had any, and if they found none, they tormented them worse, because they supposed they had more carefully concealed it. The indication they made use of whether they had any or not, was taken from the bodies of these miserable wretches; which, if they were in good case, they supposed they were in no want at all of food; but if they were wasted away they walked off without searching any farther; nor did they think it proper to kill such as these, because they saw they would very soon die of themselves for want of food. Many there were indeed who ld what they had for one measure; it was of wheat, if they were

of the richer sort, but of barley if they were poorer. When these had so done, they shut themselves up in the inmost rooms of their houses, and eat the corn they had gotten; some did it without grinding it, by reason of the extremity of the want they were in, and others baked bread of it, according as necessity and fear dictated to them; a table was no where laid for a distinct meal, but they snatched the bread out of the fire, half-baked, and eat it very hastily.

3. It was now a miserable case, and a sight that would justly bring tears into our eyes, how men stood as to their food, while the more powerful had more than enough, and the weaker were lamenting [for want of it.] But the famine was too hard for all other passions, and it is destructive to nothing so much as to modesty; for what was otherwise worthy of reverence was in this case despised; insomuch that children pulled the very morsels that their fathers were eating out of their very mouths, and what was still more to be pitied, so did the mothers do as to their infants; and when those that were most dear were perishing under their hands, they were not ashamed to take from them the very last drops that might preserve their lives: and while they eat after this manner, yet were they not concealed in so doing; but the seditious every where came upon them immediately, and snatched away from them what they had gotten from others; for when they saw any house shut up, this was to them a signal that the people within had gotten some food; whereupon they broke open the doors, and ran in, and took pieces of what they were eating almost up out of their very throats, and this by force: the old men, who held their food fast, were beaten, and if the women hid what they had within their hands, their hair was torn for so doing; nor was there any commiseration shewn either to the aged or to the infants, but they lifted up children from the ground, as they hung upon the morsels they had gotten, and shook them down upon the floor. But still were they more barbarously cruel to those that had prevented their coming in, and had actually swallowed down what they were going to sieze upon, as if they had been unjustly defrauded of their right. They also invented terrible methods of torments to discover where any food was, and they were these: to stop up the passages of the privy parts of the miserable wretches, and to drive sharp stakes up their fundaments; and a man was forced to bear what it is terrible even to hear, in order to make him confess that he had but one loaf of bread, or that he might discover an handful of barley meal that was concealed; and this was done when these tormentors were not themselves hungry; for the thing had been less barbarous had necessity forced them to it, but this was done to keep their madness in exercise, and as

making preparation of provisions for themselves for the following days. These men went also to meet those that had crept out of the city by night, as far as the Roman guards, to gather some plants and herbs that grew wild; and when those people thought they had got clear of the enemy, they snatched from them what they had brought with them, even while they had frequently entreated them, and that by calling upon the tremendous name of God, to give them back some part of what they had brought; though these would not give them the least crumb, and they were to be well contented that they were only spoiled, and not slain at the same time.

4. These were the afflictions which the lower sort of people suffered from these tyrant guards; but for the men that were in dignity, and withal were rich, they were carried before the tyrants themselves; some of which were falsely accused of laying treacherous plots, and so were destroyed; others of them were charged with designs of betraying the city to the Romans; but the readiest way of all was this, to subborn somebody to affirm that they were resolved to desert to the enemy. And he who was utterly despoiled of what he had by Simon, was sent back again to John, as of those who had been already plundered by John, Simon got what remained; insomuch that they drank the blood of the populace to one another, and divided the dead bodies of the poor creatures between them: so that although, on account of their ambition after dominion, they contended with each other, yet did they very well agree in their wicked practices; for he that did not communicate what he got by the miseries of others to the other tyrant, seemed to be too little guilty, and in one respect only; and he that did not partake of what was so communicated to him, grieved at this, as at the loss of what was a valuable thing, that he had no share in such barbarity.

5. It is therefore impossible to go distinctly over every instance of these men's iniquity. I shall therefore speak my mind here at once briefly, that neither did any other city ever suffer such miseries, nor did any age ever breed a generation more fruitful in wickedness than this was, from the beginning of the world. Finally, they brought the Hebrew nation into contempt, that they might themselves appear comparatively less impious with regard to strangers. They confessed what was true, that they were the slaves, the scum, and the spurious and abortive offspring of our nation, while they overthrew the city themselves, and forced the Romans, whither they would or not, to gain a melancholy reputation, by acting gloriously against them, and did almost draw that fire upon the temple, which they seemed to think came too slowly; and indeed, when they saw that temple burn-

ing from the upper city, they were neither troubled at it, nor did they shed any tears on that account, while yet these passions were discovered among the Romans themselves. Which circumstances we shall speak of hereafter in their proper place, when we come to treat of such matters.

CHAP. XI.

How the Jews were crucified before the walls of the city. Concerning Antiochus Epiphanes. And how the Jews overthrew the banks that had been raised by the Romans.

§ 1. So now Titus's banks were advanced a great way, notwithstanding his soldiers had been very much distressed from the wall. He then sent a party of horsemen, and ordered they should lay ambushes for those that went out into the valleys to gather food. Some of these were indeed fighting men, who were contented with what they got by rapine; but the greater part of them were poor people, who were deterred from deserting by the concern they were under for their own relations; for they could not hope to escape away, together with their wives and children, without the knowledge of the seditious; nor could they think of leaving these relations to be slain by the robbers on their account; nay, the severity of the famine made them bold in thus going out: so nothing remained but that, when they were concealed from the robbers, they should be taken by the enemy, and when they were going to be taken, they were forced to defend themselves for fear of being punished; as after they had fought, they thought it too late to make any supplications for mercy: so they were first whipped, and then tormented with all sorts of tortures, before they died, and were then crucified * before the wall of the city. This miserable procedure made Titus greatly to pity them, while they caught every day five hundred Jews; nay, some days they caught more: yet it did not appear to be safe for him to let those that were taken by force go their way, and to set a guard over so many he saw would be to make such as guarded them useless to him. The main reason why he did not forbid that cruelty was this, that he hoped the Jews might perhaps yield at that sight. Out of fear lest they might themselves afterwards be liable to the same cruel treatment. So the soldiers, out of the wrath and hatred they bore the Jews, nailed * those they caught, one after

* Reland very properly takes notice here, how justly this judgment came upon the Jews, when they were crucified in such multitudes together, that the Romans wanted room for the crosses, and crosses for the bodies of these Jews, since they had brought this judgment on themselves by the crucifixion of their Messiah.

one way, and another after another, to the crosses, by way of jest, when their multitude was so great, that room was wanting for the crosses, and crosses wanting for the bodies.

2. But so far were the seditious from repenting at this sad sight, that on the contrary, they made the rest of the multitude believe otherwise; for they brought the relations of those that had deserted upon the wall, with such of the populace as were very eager to go over upon the security offered them, and shewed them what miseries those underwent who fled to the Romans; and told them, that those who were caught were supplicants to them, and not such as were taken prisoners. This sight kept many of those within the city who were so eager to desert, till the truth was known; yet did some of them run away immediately as unto certain punishment, esteeming death from their enemies to be a quiet departure, if compared with that by famine. So Titus commanded that the hands of many of those that were caught should be cut off that they might not be thought deserters, and might be credited on account of the calamity they were under, and sent them in to John and Simon, with this exhortation, That "they would now at length leave "off [their madness,] and not force him to destroy the city, "whereby they would have those advantages of repentance, "even in their utmost distress, that they would preserve their "own lives, and so find a city of their own, and that temple "which was their peculiar glory." He then went round about the banks that were cast up, and hastened them, in order to shew, that his words should in no long time be followed by his deeds. In answer to which, the seditious cast reproaches upon Cæsar himself, and upon his father also, and cried out with a loud voice, That "they contemned death, and did well in preferring "it before slavery; that they would do all the mischief to the "Romans they could, while they had breath in them; and that "for their own city, since they were, as he said, to be destroy-"ed, they had no concern about it, and that the world itself "was a better temple to God than this. That yet this temple "would be preserved by him that inhabited therein, whom they "still had for their assistant in this war, and did therefore laugh "at all his threatenings, which would come to nothing, because "the conclusion of the whole depended upon God only." These words were mixed with reproaches, and with them they made a mighty clamour.

3. In the mean time Antiochus Epiphanes came to the city, having with him a considerable number of other armed men, and a band called the Macedonian band about him, all of the same age, tall, and just past their childhood, armed, and instructed after the Macedonian manner, whence it was that they took

that name. Yet were many of them unworthy of so famous a nation; for it had so happened, that the king of Commagene had flourished more than any other kings that were under the power of the Romans, till a change happened in his condition; and when he was become an old man, he declared plainly, that we ought not to call any man happy before he is dead. But this son of his, who was then come thither before his father was decaying, said, That "he could not but wonder what made "the Romans so tardy in making their attacks upon the wall." Now he was a warlike man, and naturally bold in exposing himself to dangers; he was also so strong a man, that his boldness seldom failed of having success; upon this Titus smiled, and said, "He would share the pains of an attack with him." However, Antiochus went as he then was, and with his Macedonians made a sudden assault upon the wall; and, indeed, for his own part, his strength and skill were so great, that he guarded himself from the Jewish darts, and yet, shot his darts at them, while yet the young men with him were almost all sorely galled; for they had so great a regard to the promises that had been made of their courage, that they would needs persevere in their fighting, and at length many of them retired, but not till they were wounded; and then they perceived that true Macedonians, if they were to be conquerors, must have Alexander's good fortune also.

4. Now as the Romans began to raise their banks on the twelfth day of the month Artemisius, [Jyar,] so had they much ado to finish them by the twenty-ninth day of the same month, after they had laboured hard for seventeen days continually. For there were now four great banks raised, one of which was at the tower Antonia, this was raised by the fifth legion, over against the middle of that pool which was called Struthius. Another was cast up by the twelfth legion, at the distance of about twenty cubits from the other. But the labours of the tenth legion, which lay a great way off these, was on the north quarter, and at the pool called Amygdalon; as was that of the fifteenth legion about thirty cubits from it, and at the high-priest's monument. And now, when the engines were brought, John had from within undermined the space that was over against the tower of Antonia, as far as the banks themselves, and had supported the ground over the mine with beams laid across one another, whereby the Roman works stood upon an uncertain foundation. Then did he order such materials to be brought in, as were daubed over with pitch and bitumen, and set them on fire; and as the cross beams that supported the banks were burning, the ditch yielded on the sudden, and the banks were shaken down, and fell into the ditch with a prodigi-

ous noise. Now at the first there arose a very thick smoke and dust, as the fire was choked with the fall of the bank; but as the suffocated materials were now gradually consumed, a plain flame brake out, on which sudden appearance of the flame, a consternation fell upon the Romans, and the shrewdness of the contrivance discouraged them; and indeed this accident coming upon them at a time when they thought they had already gained their point; cooled their hopes for the time to come. They also thought it would be to no purpose to take the pains to extinguish the fire, since if it were extinguished, the banks were swallowed up already [and become useless to them.]

5. Two days after this, Simon and his party made an attempt to destroy the other banks; for the Romans had brought their engines to bear there, and began already to make the wall shake. And here one Tephtheus of Garsis, a city of Galilee, and Megassarus, one who was derived from some of queen Mariamne's servants, and with them one from Adiabene, he was the son of Nabateus, and called by the name of Chagiras, from the ill fortune he had, the word signifying a *lame man*, snatched some torches, and ran suddenly upon the engines. Nor were there during this war any men that ever sallied out of the city who were their superiors, either in their own boldness, or in the terror they struck into their enemies. For they ran out upon the Romans, not as if they were enemies, but friends, without fear or delay: nor did they leave their enemies till they had rushed violently thro' the midst of them, and set their machines on fire. And though they had darts thrown at them on every side, and were on every side assaulted with their enemies swords, yet did they not withdraw themselves out of the dangers they were in, till the fire had caught hold of the instruments; but when the flame went up, the Romans came running from their camp to save their engines. Then did the Jews hinder their succours from the wall, and fought with those that endeavoured to quench the fire, without any regard to the danger their bodies were in. So the Romans pulled the engines out of the fire, while the hurdles that covered them were on fire; but the Jews caught hold of the battering rams through the flame itself, and held them fast, although the iron upon them was become red hot: and now the fire spread itself from the engines to the banks, and prevented those that came to defend them; and all this while the Romans were encompassed round about with the flame, and, despairing of saving their works from it, they retired to their camp. Then did the Jews become still more and more in number by the coming of those that were within the city to their assistance; and as they were very bold upon the good success they had had, their violent assaults were almost irresistible; nay, they proceeded

as far as the fortifications of the enemies camp, and fought with their guards. Now there stood a body of soldiers in array before that camp, which succeeded one another by turns in their armour; and as to those the law of the Romans was terrible, that he who left his post there, let the occasion be whatsoever it might be, he was to die for it; so that body of soldiers, preferring rather to die in fighting courageously, than as a punishment for their cowardice, stood firm, and at the necessity these men were in of standing to it, many of the others that had run away out of shame turned back again; and when they had set the engines against the wall, they put the multitude from coming more of them out of the city [which they could the more easily do,] because they had made no provision for preserving or guarding their bodies at this time; for the Jews fought now hand to hand with all that came in their way, and without any caution fell against the points of their enemies spears and attacked them bodies against bodies; for they were now too hard for the Romans, not so much by their other warlike actions, as by these courageous assaults they made upon them; and the Romans gave way more to their boldness, than they did to the sense of the harm they had received from them.

6. And now Titus was come from the tower of Antonia, whither he was gone to look out for a place for raising other banks, and reproached the soldiers greatly for permitting their own wall to be in danger, when they had taken the walls of their enemies, and sustained the fortune of men besieged, while the Jews were allowed to sally out against them, though they were already in a sort of prison. He then went round about the enemy with some chosen troops, and fell upon either flank himself; so the Jews who had been before assaulted in their faces, wheeled about to Titus, and continued the fight. The armies also were now mixed one among another, and the dust that was raised so far hindered them from seeing one another, and the noise that was made so far hindered them from hearing one another, that neither side could discern an enemy from a friend. However the Jews did not flinch, though not so much from their real strength, as from their despair of deliverance. The Romans also would not yield, by reason of the regard they had to glory, and to their reputation in war, and because Cæsar himself went into the danger before them; insomuch that I cannot but think, the Romans would in the conclusion have now taken even the whole multitude of the Jews, so very angry were they at them, had these not prevented the upshot of the battle, and retired into the city. However, seeing the banks of the Romans were demolished, these Romans were very much cast down upon the loss of what had cost them so long pains, and

this in one hour's time. And many indeed despaired of taking the city with their usual engines of war only.

CHAP. XII.

Titus thought fit to encompass the city round with a wall: after which the famine consumed the people by whole houses and families together.

§ 1. And now did Titus consult with his commanders what was to be done. Those that were of the warmest tempers, thought he should bring the whole army against the city and storm the wall; for that hitherto no more than a part of their army had fought with the Jews, but that in case the entire army was to come at once, they would not be able to sustain their attacks, but would be overwhelmed by their darts. But of those that were for a more cautious management, some were for raising their banks again, and others advised to let the banks alone, but to lie still before the city, to guard against the coming out of the Jews, and so to leave the enemy to the famine, and this without direct fighting with them; for that despair was not to be conquered, especially as to those who are desirous to die by the sword, while a more terrible misery than that is reserved for them. However, Titus did not think it fit for so great an army to lie entirely idle, and that yet it was in vain to fight with those that would be destroyed one by another; he also shewed them how impracticable it was to cast up any more banks, for want of materials, and to guard against the Jews coming out still more impracticable; as also, that to encompass the whole city round with his army, was not very easy, by reason of its magnitude, and the difficulty of the situation, and on other accounts dangerous, upon the sallies the Jews might make out of the city. For although they might guard the known passages out of the place, yet would they, when they found themselves under the greatest distress, contrive secret passages out, as being well acquainted with all such places; and if any provisions were carried in by stealth, the siege would thereby be longer delayed. He also owned, that he was afraid that the length of time thus to be spent, would diminish the glory of his success: for though it be true, that length of time will perfect every thing, yet that to do what we do in a little time is still necessary to the gaining reputation. That therefore his opinion was, that if they aimed at quickness joined with security, they must build a wall round about the whole city, which was, he thought, the only way to prevent the Jews from coming out any way, and then they would either entirely despair of saving

the city, and so would surrender it up to him, or be still the more easily conquered when the famine had farther weakened them. For that besides this wall, he would not lie entirely at rest afterward, but would take care then to have banks raised again, when those that would oppose them were become weaker. But that if any one should think such a work to be too great, and not to be finished without much difficulty, he ought to consider that it is not fit for Romans to undertake any small work; and that none but God himself could with ease accomplish any great thing whatsoever.

2. These arguments prevailed with the commanders. So Titus gave orders that the army should be distributed to their several shares of this work; and indeed there now came upon the soldiers a certain divine fury, so that they did not only part the whole wall that was to be built among them, nor did only one legion strive with another, but the lesser divisions of the army did the same; insomuch, that each soldier was ambitious to please his decurion, each decurion his centurion, each centurion his tribune, and the ambition of the tribunes was to please their superior commanders, while Cæsar himself took notice of, and rewarded the like contention in those commanders; for he went round about the works many times every day, and took a view of what was done. Titus began the wall from the camp of the Assyrians, where his own camp was pitched, and drew it down to the lower parts of Cenopolis: thence it went along the valley of Cedron, to the mount of Olives; it then bent towards the south, and encompassed the mountain as far as the rock called Peristereon, and that other hill which lies next it, and is over the valley which reaches to Siloam; whence it bended again to the west, and went down to the valley of the fountain, beyond which it went up again at the monument of Ananus the high priest, and encompassing that mountain where Pompey had formerly pitched his camp, it returned back to the north side of the city, and was carried on as far as a certain village called *The house of the Erebinthi*; after which it encompassed Herod's monument, and there, on the east was joined to Titus's own camp, where it began. Now the length of this wall was forty furlongs, one only abated. Now at this wall without were erected thirteen places to keep garrisons in, whose circumferences, put together, amounted to ten furlongs; the whole was completed in three days; so that what would naturally have required some months was done in so short an interval as is incredible. When Titus had therefore encompassed the city with his wall, and put garrisons into proper places, he went round the wall, at the first watch of the night, and observed how the guard was kept; the second watch he allotted to

Alexander; the commanders of legions, took the third watch. They also cast lots among themselves who should be upon the watch in the night time, and who should go all night long round the spaces that were interposed between the garrisons.

3. So all hope of escaping was now cut off from the Jews, together with their liberty of going out of the city. Then did the famine widen its progress, and devoured the people by whole houses and families, the upper rooms were full of women and children that were dying by famine, and the lanes of the city were full of the dead bodies of the aged; the children also and the young men wandered about the market-places like shadows, all swelled with the famine, and fell down dead, wheresover their misery seized them. As for burying them, those that were sick themselves were not able to do it, and those that were hearty and well, were deterred from doing it by the great multitude of those dead bodies, and by the uncertainty there was how soon they should die themselves; for many died as they were burying others, and many went to their coffins before that fatal hour was come. Nor was there any lamentations made under these calamities, nor were heard any mournful complaints; but the famine confounded all natural passions; for those who were just going to die looked upon those that were gone to their rest before them with dry eyes and open mouths. A deep silence also, and a kind of deadly night had seized upon the city; while yet the robbers were still more terrible than these miseries were themselves; for they brake open those houses which were no other than graves of dead bodies, and plundered them of what they had, and carrying off the coverings of their bodies, went out laughing, and tried the points of their swords in their dead bodies, and in order to prove what metal they were made of, they thrust some of those through that still lay alive upon the ground; but for those that entreated them to lend them their right hand, and their sword to dispatch them, they were too proud to grant their requests, and left them to be consumed by the famine. Now every one of these died with their eyes fixed upon the temple, and left the seditious alive behind them. Now the seditious at first gave orders that the dead should be buried out of the public treasury, as not enduring the stench of their dead bodies. But afterwards, when they could not do that, they had them cast down from the walls into the vallies beneath.

4. However, when Titus, in going his round along these vallies, saw them full of dead bodies, and the thick putrefaction running about them, he gave a groan, and, spreading out his hands to heaven, called God to witness that this was not his doing; and such was the sad case of the city itself. But the Romans were very joyful; since none of the seditious could now make

sallies out of the city, because they were themselves disconsolate, and the famine already touched them also. These Romans besides had great plenty of corn and other neccessaries out of Syria, and out of the neighbouring provinces; many of which would stand near to the wall of the city, and shew the people what great quantities of provisions they had, and so make the enemy more sensible of their famine, by the great plenty even to satiety, which they had themselves. However, when the seditious still shewed no inclinations of yielding, Titus, out of his commiseration of the people that remained, and out of his earnest desire of rescuing what was still left out of these miseries, began to raise his banks again, although materials for them were hard to be come at; for all the trees that were about the city had been already cut down for the making of the former banks. Yet did the soldiers bring with them other materials from the distance of ninety furlongs, and thereby raised banks in four parts, much greater than the former, though this was done only at the tower of Antonia. So Cæsar went his rounds thro' the legions, and hastened on the works, and shewed the robbers that they were now in his hands. But these men, and these only, were incapable of repenting of the wickedness they had been guilty of, and separating their souls from their bodies, they used them both as if they belonged to other folks, and not to themselves. For no gentle affection could touch their souls, nor could any pain affect their bodies, since they could still tear the dead bodies of the people as dogs do, and fill the prisons with those that were sick.

CHAP. XIII.

The great slaughters and sacrilege that were in Jerusalem.

§ 1. Accordingly Simon would not suffer Matthias, by whose means he got possession of the city, to go off without torment. This Matthias was the son of Bœthus, and was one of the high priests, one that had been very faithful to the people, and in great esteem with them; he, when the multitude were distressed by the Zealots, among whom John was numbered, persuaded the people to admit this Simon to come in to assist them, while he had made no terms with him, nor expected any thing that was evil from him. But when Simon was come in, and had gotten the city under his power, he esteemed him that had advised them to admit him as his enemy equally with the rest, as looking upon that advice as a piece of his simplicity only: so he had him then brought before him, and condemned to die for being on the side of the Romans, without giving him leave to make his defence. He condemned also his

three sons to die with him; for as to the fourth he prevented him by running away to Titus before. And when he begged for this, that he might be slain before his sons; and that as a favour, on account that he had procured the gates of the city to be opened to him, he gave order that he should be slain the last of them all; so he was not slain till he had seen his sons slain before his eyes, and that by being produced over against the Romans; for such a charge had Simon given to Ananus, the son of Bamadus, who was the most barbarous of all his guards. He also jested upon him, and told him that he might now see whether those to whom he intended to go over, would send him any succours or not; but still he forbade their dead bodies should be buried. After the slaughter of these, a certain priest, Ananias, the son of Masambalus, a person of eminency, as also Aristeus, the scribe of the sanhedrim, and born at Emmaus, and with them fifteen men of figure among the people were slain. They also kept Josephus's father in prison, and made public proclamation, that no citizen whosoever should either speak to him himself, or go into his company among others, for fear he should betray them. They also slew such as joined in lamenting these men, without any farther examination.

2. Now when Judas, the son of Judas, who was one of Simon's under officers, and a person entrusted by him to keep one of the towers, saw this procedure of Simon, he called together ten of those under him, that were most faithful to him (perhaps this was done partly out of pity to those that had so barbarously been put to death, but principally in order to provide for his own safety), and spoke thus to them: "How long shall we bear "these miseries? or what hopes have we of deliverance by "thus continuing faithful to such wicked wretches? Is not the "famine already come against us? Are not the Romans in a "manner gotten within the city? Is not Simon become unfaith-"ful to his benefactors? and is there not reason to fear he will "very soon bring us to the like punishment, while the security "the Romans offer us is sure? Come on, let us surrender up "this wall, and save ourselves and the city. Nor will Simon "be very much hurt, if, now he despairs of deliverance, he be "brought to justice a little sooner than he thinks on." Now, these ten were prevailed upon by those arguments; so he sent the rest of those that were under him, some one way, and some another, that no discovery might be made of what they had resolved upon. Accordingly, he called to the Romans from the tower about the third hour, but they, some of them out of pride, despised what he said, and others of them did not believe him to be in earnest, though the greatest number delayed the matter, as believing they should get possession of the city in a little time,

without any hazard. But when Titus was just coming thither with his armed men, Simon was acquainted with the matter before he came, and presently took the tower into his own custody, before it was surrendered, and seized upon these men, and put them to death in the sight of the Romans themselves; and when he had mangled their dead bodies, he threw them down before the wall of the city.

3. In the mean time, Josephus, as he was going round the city, had his head wounded by a stone that was thrown at him; upon which he fell down as giddy. Upon which fall of his the Jews made a sally, and he had been hurried away into the city, if Cæsar had not sent men to protect him immediately; and, as these men were fighting, Josephus was taken up, though he heard little of what was done. So the seditious supposed they had now slain that man whom they were the most desirous of killing, and made thereupon a great noise in way of rejoicing. This accident was told in the city; and the multitude that remained became very disconsolate at the news; as being persuaded that he was really dead, on whose account alone they could venture to desert to the Romans. But when Josephus's mother heard in prison that her son was dead, she said to those that watched about her, "that she had always been of opinion, since "the siege of Jotapata, [that he would be slain], and she should "never enjoy him alive any more." She also made great lamentation privately to the maid servants that were about her and said, "that this was all the advantage she had of bringing "so extraordinary a person as this son into the world, that she "should not be able even to bury that son of hers, by whom she "expected to have been buried herself." However, this false report did not put his mother to pain, nor afford merriment to the robbers long; for Josephus soon recovered of his wound, and came out and cried out aloud, "that it would not be long "ere they should be punished for this wound they had given "him." He also made a fresh exhortation to the people to come out upon the security that would be given them. This sight of Josephus encouraged the people greatly, and brought a great consternation upon the seditious.

4. Hereupon some of the deserters, having no other way, leaped down from the wall immediately, while others of them went out of the city with stones, as if they would fight them; but thereupon, they fled away to the Romans. But here a worse fate accompanied these, than what they had found within the city; and they met with a quicker dispatch from the too great abundance they had among the Romans, than they could have done from the famine among the Jews; for when they came first to the Romans, they were puffed up by the famine and swell-

ed like men in a dropsy; after which they all on the sudden o-verfilled those bodies that were before empty, and so burst asunder, excepting such only as were skilful enough to restrain their appetites, and by degrees took in their food into bodies unaccustomed thereto. Yet did another plague sieze upon those that were thus preserved; for there was found among the Syrian deserters a certain person who was caught gathering pieces of gold out of the excrements of the Jews bellies; for the deserters used to swallow such pieces of gold, as we told you before when they came out, and for these did the seditious search them all; for there was a great quantity of gold in the city; insomuch that as much was now sold [in the Roman camp] for twelve Attic [drams], as was sold before for twenty-five. But when this contrivance was discovered in one instance, the fame of it filled their several camps, that the deserters came to them full of gold. So the multitude of the Arabians with the Syrians, cut up those that came as supplicants, and searched their bellies. Nor does it seem to me, that any misery befel the Jews that was more terrible than this, since in one night's time about two thousand of these deserters were thus dissected.

5. When Titus came to the knowledge of this wicked practice, he had like to have surrounded those that had been guilty of it with his horse, and have shot them dead, and he had done it, had not their number been so very great, and those that were liable to this punishment would have been manifold more than those whom they had slain. However, he called together the commanders of the Roman legions (for some of his own soldiers had been also guilty herein, as he had been informed), and had great indignation against both sorts of them, "What! have "any of my own soldiers done such things as this out of the un-"certain hope of gain, without regarding their own weapons "which are made of silver and gold? Moreover, do the Ara-"bians and Syrians, now first of all begin to govern them-"selves as they please, and to indulge their appetites in a fo-"reign war, and then, out of their barbarity in murdering men, "and out of their hatred to the Jews, get it ascribed to the Ro-"mans?" For this infamous practice was said to be spread among some of his own soldiers also. Titus then threatened, that he would put such men to death, if any of them were discovered to be so insolent as to do so again; moreover, he gave it in charge to the legions, that they should make a search after such as were suspected, and should bring them to him. But it appeared, that the love of money was too hard for all their dread of punishment, and a vehement desire of gain is natural to men, and no passion is so venturesome as covetousness; otherwise

such passions have certain bounds and are subordinate to fear. But in reality it was God who condemned the whole nation, and turned every course that was taken for their preservation to their destruction. This, therefore, which was forbidden by Cæsar under such a threatening was ventured upon privately against the deserters, and these barbarians, would go out still, and meet those that run away before any saw them, and looking about them to see if no Romans spied them, they dissected them and pulled this polluted money out of their bowels; which money was still found in a few of them, while yet a great many were destroyed by the bare hope there was of thus getting by them, which miserable treatment made many that were deserting to return back again into the city.

6. But as for John, when he could no longer plunder the people, he betook himself to sacrilege, and melted down many of the sacred utensils, which had been given to the temple, as also many of those vessels which were necessary for such as ministered about holy things, the caldrons, the dishes, and the tables; nay, he did not abstain from those pouring vessels that were sent them by Augustus and his wife; for the Roman emperors did ever both honour and adorn this temple; whereas this man, who was a Jew, seized upon what was the donations of foreigners, and said to those that were with him, that it was proper for them to use divine things, while they were fighting for the divinity without fear, and that such whose warfare is for the temple, should live of the temple: on which account he emptied the vessels of that sacred wine and oil, which the priests kept to be poured on the burnt-offerings, and which lay in the inner court of the temple, and distributed it among the multitude, who in their anointing themselves, and drinking, used [each of them] above an hin of them. And here I cannot but speak my mind, and what the concern I am under dictates to me, and it is this; I suppose, that had the Romans made any longer delay in coming against these villains, that the city would either have been swallowed up by the ground opening upon them, or been overflowed by water, or else been destroyed by such thunder as the country of Sodom * perished by, for it had brought forth a generation of men much more atheistical than were those that suf-

* Josephus both here and before, B. IV. ch. viii. § 4. esteems the land of Sodom, not as part of the lake Asphaltites, or under its waters, but near it only, as Tacitus also took the same notion from him, Hist. V. vi. vii. which the great Reland takes to be the very truth, both in his note on this place, and in his Palestina, tom. I. p. 254—258, though I rather suppose part of that region of Pentapolis to be now under the waters of the south part of that sea, but perhaps not the whole country.

ferred such punishments; for by their madness it was that all the people came to be destroyed.

7. And, indeed, why do I relate these particular calamities? while Manneus, the son of Lazarus, came running to Titus at this very time, and told him, that there had been carried out through that one gate, which was entrusted to his care, no fewer than an hundred and fifteen thousand eight hundred and eighty dead bodies, in the interval between the fourteenth day of the month Xanthicus, [Nisan], when the Romans pitched their camp by the city, and the first day of the month Panemus, [Tamuz]. This was itself a prodigious multitude; and though this man was not himself set as a governor at that gate, yet was he appointed to pay the public stipend for carrying these bodies out, and so was obliged of necessity to number them, while the rest were buried by their relations; though all their burial was but this, to bring them away, and cast them out of the city. After this man there ran away to Titus many of the eminent citizens, and told him the entire number of the poor that were dead, and that no fewer than six hundred thousand were thrown out at the gates; though still the number of the rest could not be discovered; and they told him farther, that when they were no longer able to carry out the dead bodies of the poor, they laid their corpses on heaps in very large houses, and shut them up therein; as also, that a medimnus of wheat was sold for a talent, and that when, a while afterward, it was not possible to gather herbs, by reason the city was all walled about, some persons were driven to that terrible distress as to search the common shores and old dunghills of cattle, and to eat the dung which they got there; and what they of old could not endure so much as to see, they now used for food. When the Romans barely heard all this, they commiserated their case; while the seditious, who saw it also, did not repent, but suffered the same distress to come upon themselves; for they were blinded by that fate which was already coming upon the city and upon themselves also.

BOOK VI.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ABOUT ONE MONTH.

[FROM THE GREAT EXTREMITY TO WHICH THE JEWS WERE REDUCED TO THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM BY TITUS.]

CHAP. I.

That the miseries of the Jews still grew worse; and how the Romans made an assault upon the tower of Antonia.

§ 1. THUS did the miseries of Jerusalem grow worse and worse every day, and the seditious were still more irritated by the calamities they were under, even while the famine preyed upon themselves, after it had preyed upon the people, and indeed the multitude of carcases that lay in heaps one upon another, was an horrible sight, and produced a pestilential stench, which was an hinderance to those that would make sallies out of the city, and fight the enemy; but as those were to go in battle array, who had been already used to ten thousand murders, and must tread upon those dead bodies as they marched along, so were not they terrified, nor did they pity men as they marched over them; nor did they deem this affront offered to the deceased to be any ill omen to themselves; but as they had their right hands already polluted with the murders of their own countrymen, and in that condition ran out to fight with foreigners, they seem to me, to have cast a reproach upon God himself, as if he were too slow in punishing them; for the war was not now gone on with, as if they had any hope of victory; for they gloried after a brutish manner in that despair of deliverance, they were already in. And now the Romans, although they were greatly distressed in getting together their materials, raised their banks in one and twenty days, after they had cut down all the trees that were in the country that adjoined to the city, and that for ninety furlongs round about, as I have already related. And truly, the very view itself was a melancholy thing; for those places which were before adorned with trees and pleasant gardens, were now become a desolate country every way, and its trees were all cut down: nor could any foreigner that had formerly seen Judea and the most beautiful suburbs of the city, and now saw it as a desart, but lament and mourn sadly at so great a change, for the war had laid all the signs of beauty quite

waste; nor if any one that had known the place before, had come on a sudden to it now, would he have known it again; but though he were at the city itself, yet would he have inquired for it notwithstanding.

2. And now the banks were finished, they afforded a foundation for fear both to the Romans and to the Jews; for the Jews expected that the city would be taken, unless they could burn those banks, as did the Romans expect that, if these were once burnt down, they should never be able to take it; for there was a mighty scarcity of materials, and the bodies of the soldiers began to fail with such hard labours, as did their souls faint with so many instances of ill success; nay, the very calamities themselves that were in the city proved a greater discouragement to the Romans than to those within the city; for they found the fighting men of the Jews to be not at all molified among such their sore afflictions, while they had themselves perpetually less and less hopes of success, and their banks were forced to yield to the stratagems of the enemy, their engines to the firmness of their wall, and their closest fights to the boldness of their attack; and what was their greatest discouragement of all, they found the Jews's courageous souls to be superior to the multitude of the miseries they were under, by their sedition, their famine, and the war itself; insomuch that they were ready to imagine, that the violence of their attacks was invincible, and that the alacrity they shewed would not be discouraged by their calamities; for what would not those be able to bear if they should be fortunate, who turned their very misfortunes to the improvement of their valour? These considerations made the Romans to keep a stronger guard about their banks than they formerly had done.

3. But now John and his party took care for securing themselves afterward, even in the case this wall should be thrown down, and fell to their work before the battering rams were brought against them. Yet did they not compass what they endeavoured to do, but as they were gone out with their torches, they came back under great discouragement before they came near to the banks: and the reasons were these; that in the first place, their conduct did not seem to be unanimous, but they went out in distinct parties, and at distinct intervals, and after a slow manner, and timorously, and, to say all in a word, without a Jewish courage: for they were now defective in what is peculiar to our nation, that is, in boldness, in violence of assault, and in running upon the enemy all together, and in persevering in what they go about, though they do not at first succeed in it: but they now went out in a more languid manner than usual, and at the same time found the Romans set in array, and more courageous than

ordinary, and, that they guarded their banks both with their bodies and their entire armour, and this to such a degree on all sides, that they left no room for the fire to get among them, and that every one of their souls were in such good courage, that they would sooner die than desert their ranks; for besides their notion that all their hopes were cut off, in case these their works were once burnt, the soldiers were greatly ashamed that subtility should quite be too hard for courage, madness for armour, multitude for skill, and Jews for Romans. The Romans had now also another advantage, in that their engines for sieges co-operated with them in throwing darts and stones as far as the Jews, when they were coming out of the city; whereby the man that fell became an impediment to him that was next him, as did the danger of going farther make them less zealous in their attempts; and for those that had run under the darts, some of them were terrified by the good order and closeness of the enemies' ranks before they came to a close fight, and others were pricked with their spears, and turned back again: at length they reproached one another for their cowardice, and retired without doing any thing. This attack was made upon the first day of the month Panemus, [Tamuz]. So, when the Jews were retreated, the Romans brought their engines, although they had all the while stones thrown at them from the tower of Antonia, and were asaaulted by fire and sword, and by all sorts of darts, which necessity afforded the Jews to make use of, for although these had great dependence on their own wall, and a contempt of the Roman engines, yet did they endeavour to hinder the Romans from bringing them. Now these Romans struggled hard, on the contrary, to bring them, as deeming that this zeal of the Jews was in order to avoid any impression to be made on the tower of Antonia, because its wall was but weak, and its foundations rotten. However, that tower did not yield to the blows given it from the engines; yet did the Romans bear the impressions made by their enemies' darts which were perpetually cast at them, and did not give way to any of those dangers that came upon them from above, and so they brought their engines to bear. But then, as they were beneath the other, and were sadly wounded by the stones thrown down upon them, some of them threw their shields over their bodies, and partly with their hands, and partly with their bodies, and partly with crows, they undermined its foundations, and with great pains they removed four of its stones. Then night came upon both sides, and put an end to this struggle for the present; however, that night the wall was so shaken by the battering rams in that place where John had used his stratagem before, and had undermined their banks, that the ground then gave way, and the wall fell down suddenly.

4. When this accident had unexpectedly happened, the minds of both parties were variously affected: for though one would expect that the Jews would be discouraged, because this fall of their wall was unexpected by them, and they had made no provision in that case, yet did they pull up their courage, because the tower of Antonia itself was still standing; as was the unexpected joy of the Romans at this fall of the wall soon quenched by the sight they had of another wall, which John and his party had built within it. However, the attack of this second wall appeared also to be easier than that of the former, because it seemed a thing of greater facility to get up to it through the parts of the former wall that were now thrown down. This new wall appeared also to be much weaker than the tower of Antonia, and accordingly the Romans imagined that it had been erected so much on the sudden, that they should soon overthrow it: yet did not any body venture now to go up to this wall; for such as first ventured so to do must certainly be killed.

5. And now Titus, upon consideration that the alacrity of soldiers in war is chiefly excited by hopes and by good words, and that exhortations and promises do frequently make men to forget the hazards they run, nay, sometimes to despise death itself, got together the most courageous part of his army, and tried what he could do with his men by these methods. "O fellow-"soldiers," said he, "to make an exhortation to men to do "what hath no peril in it, is on that very account inglorious "to such to whom that exhortation is made; and indeed so it "is, in him that makes the exhortation, an argument of his own "cowardice also. I therefore think, that such exhortations "ought then only to be made use of, when affairs are in a dan-"gerous condition, and yet are worthy of being attempted by "every one themselves: accordingly, I am fully of the same "opinion with you, that it is a difficult task to go up this wall; "but that it is proper for those that desire reputation for their "valour to struggle with difficulties in such cases, will then ap-"pear, when I have particularly shewed, that it is a brave "thing to die with glory, and that the courage here necessary "shall not go unrewarded in those that first begin the attempt. "And let my first argument to move you to it be taken from "what probably some would think reasonable to dissuade you, "I mean the constancy and patience of these Jews, even under "their ill successes; for it is unbecoming you, who are Romans "and my soldiers, who have in peace been taught how to make "wars, and who have also been used to conquer in those wars, "to be inferior to Jews, either in action of the hand, or in cour-"age of the soul, and this especially when you are at the con-"clusion of your victory, and are assisted by God himself; for

" as to our misfortunes, they have been owing to the madness
" of the Jews, while their sufferings have been owing to your
" valour, and to the assistance God hath afforded you: for as to
" the seditions they have been in, and the famine they are un-
" der, and the siege they now endure, and the fall of their walls
" without our engines, what can they all be but demonstrations
" of God's anger against them, and of his assistance afforded us!
" It will not therefore be proper for you, either to shew your-
" selves inferior to those to whom you are really superior, or
" to betray that divine assistance which is afforded you. And
" indeed, how can it be esteemed otherwise than a base and un-
" worthy thing, that while the Jews, who need not be much
" ashamed if they be deserted, because they have long learned
" to be slaves to others, do yet despise death, that they may be
" so no longer; and do make sallies into the very midst of us
" frequently, not in hopes of conquering us, but merely for a de-
" monstration of their courage; we, who have gotten possession
" of almost all the world that belongs either to land or sea, to
" whom it will be a great shame if we do not conquer them, do
" not once undertake any attempt against our enemies wherein
" there is much danger, but sit still idle, with such brave arms
" as we have, and only wait till the famine and fortune do our
" business themselves, and this when we have it in our power,
" with some small hazard to gain all that we desire. For if
" we go up to this tower of Antonia, we gain the city; for if
" there should be any more occasion for fighting against those
" within the city, which I do not suppose there will, since we
" shall be then upon the top * of the hill, and be upon our ene-
" mies before they can have taken breath; these advantages pro-
" mise us no less than a certain and sudden victory. As for my-
" self, I shall at present wave any commendation of those who
" die in war †, and omit to speak of the immortality of those
" men who are slain in the midst of their martial bravery; yet
" cannot I forbear to imprecate upon those who are of a con-
" trary disposition, that they may die in time of peace, by some

* Reland notes here, very pertinently, that the tower of Antonia stood higher than the floor of the temple or court adjoining to it; and that accordingly they descended thence into the temple, as Josephus elsewhere speaks also. See Book VI. chap. ii. sect. 5.

† In this speech of Titus we may clearly see the notions which the Romans then had of death, and of the happy state of those who died bravely in war, and the contrary estate of those who died ignobly in their beds by sickness. Reland here also produces two parallel passages, the one out of Ammianus Marcellinus, concerning the Alani, lib. 31. That "they judged that man happy who laid down his life in "battle." The other of Valerius Maximus, lib. xi. chap. 6. who says, That "the "Cimbri and Celtiberi exulted for joy in the army, as being to go out of the world "gloriously and happily."

"distemper or other, since their souls are condemned to the "grave, together with their bodies. For what man of virtue "is there who does not know, that those souls which are severed "from their fleshly bodies in battles by the sword, are received "by the ether, that purest of elements, and joined to that com-"pany which are placed among the stars; that they become "good demons, and propitious heroes, and shew themselves as "such, to their posterity afterwards? While upon those souls "that wear away in and with their distempered bodies, comes "a subterranean night to dissolve them to nothing, and a deep "oblivion to take away all the remembrance of them, and this, "notwithstanding they be clean from all spots and defilements "of this world: so that, in this case, the soul at the same time "comes to the utmost bounds of its life, and of its body, and of "its memorial also. But since fate hath determined that death "is to come of necessity upon all men, a sword is a better instru-"ment for that purpose than any disease whatsoever. Why is "it not then a very mean thing for us not to yield up that to "the public benefit, which we must yield up to fate? And this "discourse have I made upon the supposition that those who "at first attempt to go upon this wall must needs be killed in "the attempt, though still men of true courage have a chance "to escape even in the most hazardous undertakings. For, in "the first place, that part of the former wall that is thrown "down is easily to be ascended, and for the new built wall, it "is easily destroyed. Do you, therefore, many of you, pull up "your courage, and set about this work, and do you mutually "encourage and assist one another; and this your bravery will "soon break the hearts of your enemies; and perhaps such a "glorious undertaking as yours is, may be accomplished with-"out bloodshed. For although it is justly to be supposed, that "the Jews will try to hinder you at your first beginning to go "up to them, yet when you have once concealed yourselves "from them, and driven them away by force, they will not be "able to sustain your efforts against them any longer though "but a few of you prevent them, and get over the wall. As "for that person who first mounts the wall, I should blush for "shame if I did not make him to be envied of others, by those "rewards I would bestow upon him. If such an one escape "with his life, he shall have the command of others that are "now but his equals; although it be true also, that the great-"est * rewards will accrue to such as die in the attempt."

6. Upon this speech of Titus, the rest of the multitude were affrighted at so great a danger. But there was one, whose name

* See note, page 188.

was Sabinus, a soldier that served among the cohorts, and a Syrian by birth, who appeared to be of very great fortitude, both in the actions he had done, and the courage of his soul he had shewed; although any body would have thought, before he came to his work, that he was of such a weak constitution of body, that he was not fit to be a soldier: for his colour was black, his flesh was lean, and thin, and lay close together; but there was a certain heroic soul that dwelt in this small body, which body was indeed much too narrow for that peculiar courage which was in him. Accordingly he was the first that rose up, when, he thus spake: "I readily surrender up myself to thee, O Cæsar; I first ascend the wall, and I heartily wish that my fortune may follow my courage, and my resolution. And if some ill fortune grudge me the success of my undertaking, take notice that my ill success will not be unexpected, but that I choose death voluntarily for thy sake." When he had said this, and had spread out his shield over his head with his left hand, and had, with his right hand, drawn his sword, he marched up to the wall, just about the sixth hour of the day. There followed him eleven others, and no more, that resolved to imitate his bravery: but still this was the principal person of them all, and went first, as excited by a divine fury. Now those that guarded the wall shot at them from thence, and cast innumerable darts upon them from every side; they also rolled very large stones upon them, which overthrew some of those eleven that were with him. But as for Sabinus himself, he met the darts that were cast at him, and though he were overwhelmed with them, yet did he not leave off the violence of his attack before he had gotten up on the top of the wall, and had put the enemy to flight. For as the Jews were astonished at his great strength, and the bravery of his soul, and as withal, they imagined more of them had got upon the wall than really had, they were put to flight. And now one cannot but complain here of fortune, as still envious at virtue, and always hindering the performance of glorious atchievements: this was the case of the man before us, when he had just obtained his purpose; for he then stumbled at a certain large stone, and fell down upon it headlong, with a very great noise. Upon which the Jews turned back, and when they saw him to be alone, and fallen down also, they threw darts at him from every side. However, he got upon his knee, and covered himself with his shield, and at the first defended himself against them, and wounded many of those that came near him; but he was soon forced to relax his right hand, by the multitude of the wounds that had been given him, till at length he was quite covered over with darts, before he gave up the ghost. He was one who de-

served a better fate, by reason of his bravery; but, as might be expected, he fell under so vast an attempt. As for the rest of his partners, the Jews dashed three of them to pieces with stones, and slew them, as they were gotten up to the top of the wall; the other eight being wounded, were pulled down, and carried back to the camp. These things were done upon the third day of the month Panemus [Tamuz.]

7. Now two days afterward twelve of those men that were on the forefront, and kept watch upon the banks, got together and called to them the standard-bearer of the fifth legion, and two others of a troop of horsemen, and one trumpeter; these went without noise, about the ninth hour of the night, through the ruins, to the tower of Antonia; and when they had cut the throats of the first guards of the place, as they were asleep, they got possession of the wall, and ordered the trumpeter to sound his trumpet. Upon which the rest of the guard got up on the sudden, and ran away, before any body could see how many they were that were gotten up; for, partly from the fear they were in, and partly from the sound of the trumpet which they heard they imagined that a great number of the enemy were gotten up. But as soon as Cæsar heard the signal, he ordered the army to put on their armour immediately, and came thither with his commanders, and first of all ascended, as did the chosen men that were with him. And as the Jews were flying away to the temple, they fell into that mine which John had dug under the Roman banks. Then did the seditious of both the bodies of the Jewish army, as well that belonging to John, as that belonging to Simon, drive them away; and indeed were no way wanting as to the highest degree of force and alacrity: for they esteemed themselves entirely ruined if once the Romans got into the temple, as did the Romans look upon the same thing as the beginning of their entire conquest. So a terrible battle was fought at the entrance of the temple, while the Romans were forcing their way, in order to get possession of that temple, and the Jews were driving them back to the tower of Antonia; in which battle the darts were on both sides useless, as well as the spears, and both sides drew their swords, and fought it out hand to hand. Now during this struggle, the positions of the men were undistinguished on both sides, and they fought at random, the men being intermixed one with another, and confounded by reason of the narrowness of the place; while the noise that was made fell on the ear after an indistinct manner, because it was so very loud. Great slaughter was now made on both sides, and the combatants trod upon the bodies, and the armour of those that were dead, and dashed them to pieces. Accordingly, to which side soever the battle inclined, those that

had the advantage exhorted one another to go on, as did those that were beaten make great lamentations. But still there was no room for flight nor for pursuit, but disorderly revolutions and retreats, while the armies were intermixed one with another; but those that were in the first ranks were under the necessity of killing or being killed, without any way for escaping; for those on both sides that came behind, forced those before them to go on, without leaving any space between the armies. At length the Jews' violent zeal was too hard for the Roman's skill, and the battle already inclined entirely that way; for the fight had lasted from the ninth hour of the night, till the seventh hour of the day, while the Jews came on in crowds, and had the danger the temple was in for their motive; the Romans having no more here than a part of their army; for those legions, on which the soldiers on that side depended, were not come up to them. So it was at present thought sufficient by the Romans to take possession of the tower of Antonia.

8. But there was one Julian, a centurion, that came from Bithynia, a man he was of great reputation, whom I had formerly seen in that war, and one of the highest fame, both for his skill in war, his strength of body, and the courage of his soul. This man, seeing the Romans giving ground, and in a sad condition, for he stood by Titus at the tower of Antonia, leaped out, and of himself alone put the Jews to flight, when they were already conquerors, and made them retire as far as the corner of the inner court of the temple: from him the multitude fled away in crowds, as supposing that neither his strength nor his violent attacks could be those of a mere man. Accordingly he rushed through the midst of the Jews, as they were dispersed all abroad and killed those that he caught. Nor, indeed was there any sight that appeared more wonderful in the eyes of Cæsar, or more terrible to others than this. However he was himself pursued by fate, which it was not possible that he, who was but a mortal man, should escape; for as he had shoes * all full of thick and sharp nails, as had every one of the other soldiers, so when he ran on the pavement of the temple, he slipped, and fell down upon his back with a very great noise, which was made by his armour. This made those that were running away to turn back, whereupon those Romaus that were in the tower of Antonia set up a great shout, as they were in fear for the man. But the Jews got about him in crowds, and struck at him with their spears, and with their swords on all sides. Now

* No wonder that this Julian, who had so many nails in his shoes, slipped upon the pavement of the temple, which was smooth, and laid with marble of different colours.

he received a great many of the strokes of these iron weapons upon his shield, and often attempted to get up again, but was thrown down by those that struck at him; yet did he, as he lay along, stab many of them with his sword. Nor was he soon killed, as being covered with his helmet and his breast-plate in all those parts of his body where he might be mortally wounded; he also pulled his neck close to his body, till all his other limbs was shattered, and nobody durst come to defend him, and then he yielded to his fate. Now Cæsar was deeply affected on account of this man of so great fortitude, and especially as he was killed in the sight of so many people; he was desirous himself to come to his assistance, but the place would not give him leave, while such as would have done it were too much terrified to attempt it. Thus when Julian had struggled with death a great while, and had let but few of those that had given him his mortal wound go of unhurt, he had at last his throat cut, tho' not without some difficulty, and left behind him a very great fame, not only among the Romans, and with Cæsar himself, but among his enemies also; then did the Jews catch up his dead body, and put the Romans to flight again, and shut them up in the tower of Antonia. Now these that most signalized themselves, and fought most zealously in this battle of the Jewish side, were one Alexas and Gyphtheus of John's party, and of Simon's party were Malachtas, and Judas the son of Merto, and James the son of Sosas, the commander of the Idumeans; and of the Zealots, two brethren, Simon and Judas, the sons of Jairus.

CHAP. II.

How Titus gave orders to demolish the tower of Antonia, and then persuaded Josephus to exhort the Jews again [to a surrender.]

§ 1. And now Titus gave orders to his soldiers that were with him to dig up the foundations of the tower of Antonia, and make him a ready passage for his army to come up; while he himself had Josephus brought to him (for he had been informed that on that very day, which was the seventeenth * day of Panemus [Tamuz], the sacrifice called the *daily sacrifice* had failed, and had not been offered to God, for want of men

* This was a remarkable day indeed, the 17th of Panemus [Tamuz], A. D. 70, when according to Daniel's prediction, 606 years before, the Romans "in "half a week caused the sacrifice and oblation to cease." Dan. ix. 27. For from the month of February. A. D. 66. about which time Vespasian entered on this war, to this very time, was just three years and a half. See Bishop Lloyd's Tables of Chronology, published by Mr. Marshall on this year. Nor is it to be omitted what very nearly confirms this duration of the war, that four years before

to offer it, and that the people were grievously troubled at it,) and commanded him to say the same thing to John that he had said before, That "if he had any malicious inclination for fighting, he might come out with as many of his men as he pleased, "in order to fight, without the danger of destroying either his "city or temple; but that he desired he would not defile the "temple, nor thereby offend against God. That he might, if "he pleased, offer the sacrifices which were now discontinued "by any of the Jews whom he should pitch upon." Upon this Josephus stood in such a place where he might be heard, not by John only, but by many more, and then declared to them what Cæsar had given him in charge, and this in the Hebrew language*. So he earnestly prayed them "to spare their own city, "and to prevent that fire which was just ready to sieze upon "the temple, and to offer their usual sacrifices to God therein." At these words of his a great sadness and silence were observed among the people. But the tyrant himself cast many reproaches upon Josephus, with imprecations besides; and at last added this withal, "That he did never fear the taking of the city, "because it was God's own city." In answer to which Josephus said thus with a loud voice, "To be sure thou hast kept "this city wonderfully pure for God's sake; the temple also "continues entirely unpolluted! Nor hast thou been guilty "of any impiety against him for whose assistance thou hopest! "He still receives his accustomed sacrifices! Vile wretch that "thou art! If any one should deprive thee of thy daily food, "thou wouldest esteem him to be an enemy to thee; but thou "hopest to have that God for thy supporter in this war whom "thou hast deprived of his everlasting worship; and thou imputest those sins to the Romans, who to this very time take "care to have our laws observed, and almost compel these sa-"crifices to be still offered to God, which have by thy means "been intermitted. Who is there that can avoid groans and "lamentations at the amazing change that is made in this city? "since very foreigners and enemies do now correct that impiety "which thou hast occasioned: while thou who art a Jew, and "wast educated in our laws, art become a greater enemy to "them than the others. But still, John, it is never dishonour-"able to repent, and amend what hath been done amiss, even at "the last extremity. Thou hast an instance before thee in Je-"choniah†, the king of the Jews, if thou hast a-mind to save

the war begun, was somewhat above seven years five months before the destruction of Jerusalem, chap. 5. sect.. 3.

* The same that in the New Testament is always so called, and was then the common language of the Jews in Judea, which was the Syrian dialect.

† Our present copies of the Old Testament want this encomium upon king Jechoniah or Jehoiachin, which it seems was in Josephus's copy.

" the city, who, when the king of Babylon made war against " him, did of his own accord, go out of the city before it was " taken, and did undergo a voluntary captivity with his fami- " ly, that the sanctuary might not be delivered up to the ene- " my, and that he might not see the house of God set on fire: " on which account he is celebrated among all the Jews, in their " sacred memorials, and his memory is become immortal, and " will be conveyed fresh down to our posterity through all ages. " This, John, is an excellent example in such a time of danger; " and I dare venture to promise that the Romans shall still for- " give thee. And take notice, that I, who make this exhorta- " tion to thee, am one of thine own nation; I, who am a Jew, " do make this promise to thee. And it will become thee to " consider who I am that give thee this counsel, and whence I " am derived: for while I am alive I shall never be in such sla- " very, as to forego my own kindred, or forget the laws of our " forefathers. Thou hast indignation at me again, and makest " a clamour at me, and reproachest me; indeed I cannot de- " ny but I am worthy of worse treatment than all this amounts " to, because in opposition to fate, I make this kind invitation " to thee, and endeavour to force deliverance upon those whom " God hath condemned. And who is there that does not know " what the writings of the ancient prophets contain in them; " and particularly that oracle * which is just now going to be " fulfilled upon this miserable city? For they foretold that this " city should be then taken when somebody shall begin the " slaughter of his own countrymen. And are not both the city " and the entire temple now full of the dead bodies of your " countrymen? It is God † therefore, it is God himself who " is bringing on this fire to purge that city and temple by means " of the Romans, and is going to pluck up this city, which is " full of your pollutions."

2. As Josephus spoke these words, with groans and tears in his eyes, his voice was intercepted by sobs. However, the Romans could not but pity the affliction he was under, and wonder at his conduct. But for John, and those that were with him, they were but the more exasperate against the Romans, on this account, and were desirous to get Josephus also into their power:

* Of this oracle, see the note on Book IV. chap. vi. § 3.

† Josephus, both here, and in many places elsewhere, speaks so, that it is most evident he was fully satisfied that God was on the Romans' side, and made use of them now for the destruction of that wicked nation of the Jews, which was for certain the true state of this matter; as the prophet Daniel first, and our Saviour himself afterwards, had clearly foretold. See Lit. Accompl. of proph. p. 64. &c.

yet did that discourse influence a great many of the better sort, and truly some of them were so afraid of the guards set by the seditious, that they tarried where they were, but still were satisfied that both they and the city were doomed to destruction. Some also there were, who, watching a proper opportunity, when they might quietly get away, fled to the Romans, of whom were the high-priests Joseph and Jesus, and of the sons of high-priests three, whose father was Ishmael, who was beheaded in Cyrene, and four sons of Matthias, as also one son of the other Matthias, who ran away * after his father's death, and whose father was slain by Simon the son of Gioras, with three of his sons, as I have already related; many also of the other nobility went over to the Romans, together with the high-priests. Now Cæsar not only received these men very kindly in other respects, but, knowing they would not willnigly live after the customs of other nations, he sent them to Gophna, and desired them to remain there for the present, and told them, that when he was gotten clear of this war, he would restore each of them to their possessions again: so they cheerfully retired to that small city which was allotted them, without fear of any danger. But as they did not appear, the seditious gave out again, that those deserters were slain by the Romans, which was done in order to deter the rest from running away, by fear of the like treatment. This trick of theirs succeeded now for a while, as did the like trick before; for the rest were hereby deterred from deserting, by fear of the like treatment.

3. However, when Titus had recalled those men from Gophna, he gave orders that they should go round the wall, together with Josephus, and shew themselves to the people upon which a great many fled to the Romans. These also got in a great number together, and stood before the Romans, and besought the seditious, with groans and tears in their eyes, in the first place to receive the Romans entirely into the city, and save that their own place of residence again; but that, if they would not agree to such a proposal, they would at least depart out of the temple, and save the holy house for their own use; for that the Romans would not venture to set the sanctuary on fire, but under the most pressing necessity. Yet did the seditious still more and more contradict them; and while they cast loud and bitter reproaches upon these deserters, they also set their engines for

* Josephus had before told us. Book V. chap. xiii. sect. 1. Vol. IV. that this fourth son of Matthias ran away to the Romans *before* his father's and brethren's slaughter, and not *after* it as here. The former account is, in all probability, the truest: for had not that fourth son escaped before the others were caught and put to death, he had been caught and put to death with them. This last account, therefore, looks like an instance of a small inadvertance of Josephus in the place before us.

throwing of darts and javelins, and stones, upon the sacred gates of the temple, at due distances from one another, insomuch, that all the space round about within the temple, might be compared to a burying ground, so great was the number of the dead bodies therein; as might the holy house itself be compared to a citadel. Accordingly these men rushed upon these holy places in their armour, that were otherwise unapproachable, and that while their hands were yet warm with the blood of their own people, which they had shed: nay, they proceeded to such great transgressions, that the very same indignation which Jews would naturally have against Romans, had they been guilty of such abuses against them, the Romans had now against Jews, for their impiety in regard to their own religious customs. Nay, indeed, there were none of the Roman soldiers, who did not look with a sacred horror upon the holy house, and adored it, and wished that the robbers would repent before their miseries became incurable.

4. Now Titus was deeply affected with this state of things and reproached John and his party, and said to them, "Have "not you, vile wretches that you are, by our permission put up "this partition wall * before your sanctuary? Have not you "been allowed to put up the pillars thereto belonging, at due "distances, and on it to engrave in Greek, and in your own let- "ters this prohibition, That no foreigner should go beyond that "wall? Have we not given you leave to kill such as go beyond "it, though he were a Roman? And what do you do now, you "pernicious villains? Why do you trample upon dead bodies "in this temple? and why do you pollute this holy house with "the blood of both foreigners and Jews themselves? I appeal "to the gods of my own country, and to every god that ever "had any regard to this place; (for I do not suppose it to be "now regarded by any of them); I also appeal to my own army, "and to those Jews that are now with me, and even to you "yourselves, that I do not force you to defile this your sanctu- "ary; and if you will but change the place whereon you will "fight, no Roman shall either come near your sanctuary, or of- "fer any affront to it; nay, I will endeavour to preserve you "your holy house, whither you will or no."

5. As Josephus explained these things from the mouth of Cæsar, both the robbers and the tyrant thought that these exhorta-

* Of this partition-wall separating Jews and Gentiles, with its pillar and inscription, see the description of the temples, chap. xv.

† That these seditious Jews were the direct occasion of their own destruction, and of the conflagration of their city and temple, and that Titus earnestly and constantly laboured to save both, is here and every where most evident in Josephus.

tions proceeded from Titus's fear, and not from his good will to them, and grew insolent upon it. But when Titus saw that these men were neither to be moved by commiseration towards themselves, nor had any concern upon them to have the holy house spared, he proceeded unwillingly to go on with the war again against them. He could not indeed bring all his army against them, the place was so narrow; but choosing thirty soldiers of the most valiant out of every hundred, and committing a thousand to each tribune, and making Cerealis the commander in chief, he gave orders that they should attack the guards of the temple about the ninth hour of that night. But as he was now in his armour, and preparing to go down on with them, his friends would not let him go by reason of the greatness of the danger, and what the commanders suggested to him; for they said, That "he would do more by sitting above in the tower of Antonia, as a dispenser of rewards to those soldiers that signalized themselves in the fight, than by coming down, and hazarding his own person in the forefront of them; for that they would all fight stoutly while Cæsar looked upon them." With this advice Cæsar complied, and said, That "the only reason he had for such compliance with the soldiers was this, that he might be able to judge of their courageous actions, and that no valiant soldier might lie concealed, and miss of his reward, and no cowardly soldier might go unpunished; but that he might himself be an eye witness, and able to give evidence of all that was done, who was to be the disposer of punishments and rewards to them." So he sent the soldiers about their work at the hour forementioned, while he went out himself to an higher place in the tower of Antonia, whence he might see what was done, and there waited with impatience to see the event.

6. However, the soldiers that were sent did not find the guards of the temple asleep, as they hoped to have done, but were obliged to fight with them immediately hand to hand, as they rushed with violence upon them with a great shout. Now, as soon as the rest within the temple heard that shout of those that were upon the watch, they ran out in troops upon them. Then did the Romans receive the onset of those that came first upon them; but those that followed them fell upon their own troops, and many of them treated their own soldiers as if they had been enemies; for the great confused noise that was made on both sides hindered them from distinguishing one another's voices, as did the darkness of the night hinder them from the like distinction by the sight; besides that blindness which arose otherwise also from the passion and the fear they were in at the same time; for which reason it was all one to the soldiers who it was they struck at. However, this ignorance did less harm to the Romans than

to the Jews; because they were joined together under their shields, and made their sallies more regularly than the others did, and each of them remembered their watch-word: while the Jews were perpetually dispersed abroad, and made their attacks and retreats at random, and so did frequently seem to one another to be enemies; for every one of them received those of their own men that came back in the dark as Romans, and made an assault upon them; so that more of them were wounded by their own men than by the enemy, till, upon the coming of the day, the nature of the fight was discerned by the eye afterwards, then did they stand in battle array in distinct bodies, and cast their darts regularly, and regularly defended themselves; nor did either side yield or grow weary. The Romans contended with each other who should fight the most strenuously, both single men and entire regiments, as being under the eye of Titus; and every one concluded that this day would begin his promotion, if he fought bravely. What were the great encouragements of the Jews to act vigorously, were, their fear for themselves and for the temple, and the presence of their tyrant, who exhorted some, and beat and threatened others to act courageously. Now, it so happened, that this fight was for the most part a stationary one, wherein the soldiers went on and came back in a short time and suddenly; for there was no long space of ground for either of their flights or pursuits. But still there was a tumultuous noise among the Romans from the tower of Antonia, who loudly cried out upon all occasions to their own men, to press on courageously, when they were too hard for the Jews, and to stay, when they were retiring backward; so that here was a kind of theatre of war; for what was done in this fight could not be concealed either from Titus or from those that were about him. At length it appeared that this fight, which began at the ninth hour of the night, was not over till past the fifth hour of the day, and that, in the same place where the battle began, neither party could say they had made the other to retire; but both the armies left the victory almost in uncertainty between them; wherein those that signalized themselves on the Roman side were a great many, but on the Jewish side, and of those that were with Simon, Judas the son of Merto, and Simon the son of Josas; of the Idumeans, James and Simon, the latter of whom was the son of Cathlas, and James was the son of Sosas; of those that were with John, Gyphtheus and Alexas, and of the Zealots Simon the son of Jairus.

7. In the mean time, the rest of the Roman army had, in seven days time, overthrown [some] foundations of the tower of Antonia, and had made a ready and broad way to the temple.

Then did the legions come near the first court *, and began to raise their banks. The one bank was over against the north-west corner of the inner temple†; another was at that northern edifice which was between the two gates; and of the other two, one was at the western cloister of the outer court * of the temple, the other against its northern cloister. However, these works were thus far advanced by the Romans, not without great pains and difficulty, and particularly by being obliged to bring their materials from the distance of an hundred furlongs. They had further difficulties also upon them; sometimes by their over-great security they were in that they should overcome the Jewish snares laid for them, and by that boldness of the Jews which their despair of escaping had inspired them withal; for some of their horsemen, when they went out to gather wood or hay, let their horses feed, without having their bridles on, during the time of foraging; upon which horses the Jews sallied out in whole bodies, and siezed them. And when this was continually done, and Cæsar believed what the truth was, that the horses were stolen more from the negligence of his own men than by the valour of the Jews, he determined to use greater severity to oblige the rest to take care of their horses; so he commanded that one of those soldiers who lost their horses should be capitally punished; whereby he so terrified the rest, that they preserved their horses for the time to come; for they did not any longer let them go from them to feed by themselves, but as if they had grown to them, they went always along with them when they wanted necessaries. Thus did the Romans still continue to make war against the temple, and to raise their banks against it.

8. Now after one day had been interposed since the Romans ascended the breach, many of the seditious were so pressed by the famine, upon the present failure of their ravages, that they got together and made an attack on those Roman guards that were upon the Mount of Olives, and this about the eleventh hour of the day, as supposing first, that they would not expect such an onset, and, in the next place, that they were then taking care of their bodies, and that therefore they should easily beat them. But the Romans were apprized of their coming to attack them beforehand, and running together from the neighbouring camps on the sudden, prevented them from getting over their fortification, or forcing the wall that was built about them. Upon this came on a sharp fight, and here many great actions were performed on both sides; while the Romans shewed both their courage and their skill in war, as did the Jews come on them with immoderate violence, and intolerable passion. The

* Court of the Gentiles. † Court of Israel.

one part were urged on by shame, and the other by necessity; for it seemed a very shameful thing to the Romans to let the Jews go, now they were taken in a kind of net; while the Jews had but one hope of saving themselves, and that was in case they could by violence break through the Roman wall; and one whose name was *Pedanius,* belonging to a party of horsemen, when the Jews were already beaten and forced down into the valley together, spurred his horse on their flank with great vehemence, and caught up a certain young man belonging to the enemy by his ancle, as he was running away; the man was, however, of a robust body, and in his armour; so low did Pedanius bend himself downward from his horse, even as he was galloping away, and so great was the strength of his right hand, and of the rest of his body, as also such skill had he in horsemanship. So this man siezed upon that his prey, as upon a precious treasure, and carried him as his captive to Cæsar; whereupon Titus admired the man that had siezed the other for his great strength, and ordered the man that was caught to be punished [with death] for his attempt against the Roman wall, but betook himself to the siege of the temple, and to pressing on the raising of their banks.

9. In the mean time, the Jews, were so distressed by the fights they had been in, as the war advanced higher and higher, and creeping up to the holy house itself, that they, as it were, cut off those limbs of their body which were infected, in order to prevent the distemper's spreading farther; for they set the north west cloister, which was joined to the tower of Antonia, on fire, and after that brake off about twenty cubits of that cloister, and thereby made a beginning in burning the sanctuary: two days after which, or on the twenty-fourth day of the forenamed month [Panemus or Tamuz] the Romans set fire to the cloister that joined to the other, when the fire went fifteen cubits farther. The Jews, in like manner cut of its roof; nor did they entirely leave off what they were about till the tower of Antonia was parted from the temple, even when it was in their power to have stopped the fire, nay, they lay still while the temple was first set on fire, and deemed this spreading of the fire to be for their own advantage. However, the armies were still fighting one against another about the temple, and the war was managed by continual sallies of particular parties against one another.

10. Now there was at this time a man among the Jews: low of stature he was, and of a despicable appearance; of no character either as to his family, or in other respects; his name was *Jonathan.* He went out at the high priest John's monument, and uttered many other insolent things to the Romans,

and challenged the best of them all to a single combat. But many of those that stood there in the army buffed him, and many of them: (as they might well be) were afraid of him. Some of them also reasoned thus, and that justly enough, that it was not fit to fight with a man that desired to die, because those that utterly despaired of deliverance, had, besides other passions, a violence in attacking men that could not be opposed, and had no regard to God himself; and that to hazard one's self with a person, whom, if you overcome, you do no great matter, and by whom it is hazardous that you may be taken prisoner, would be an instance, not of manly courage, but of unmanly rashness. So their being no body that came out to accept the man's challenge, and the Jew cutting them with a great number of reproaches, as cowards, (for he was a very haughty man in himself, and a great despiser of the Romans,) one whose name was *Pudens*, of the body of horsemen, out of his abomination of the other's words, and of his impudence withal, and perhaps out of an inconsiderate arrogance, on account of the other's lowness of stature, ran out to him, and was too hard for him in other respects, but was betrayed by his fortune; for he fell down, and as he was down, Jonathan came running to him, and cut his throat, and then standing upon his dead body, he brandished his sword, bloody as it was, and shook his shield with his left hand, and made many acclamations to the Roman army, and insulted over the dead man, and jested upon the Romans; till at length one Priscus, a centurion, shot a dart at him, as he was leaping and playing the fool with himself, and thereby pierced him through: upon which a shout was set up both by the Jews and the Romans, though on different accounts. So Jonathan grew giddy by the pain of his wound and fell down upon the body of his adversary, as a plain instance how suddenly vengeance may come upon men that have success in war, without any just deserving the same.

CHAP. III.

Concerning a stratagem that was devised by the Jews, by which they burnt many of the Romans, with another description of the terrible famine that was in the city.

§ 1. But now the seditious that were in the temple did every day openly endeavour to beat off the soldiers that were upon the banks, and on the twenty-seventh day of the forenamed month [Panemus or Tamuz] contrived such a stratagem as this: They filled that part of the western cloister * which was between

* Of the cour of the Gentiles.

the beams, and the roof under them, with dry materials, as also with bitumen and pitch, and then retired from that place, as though they were tired with the pains they had taken; at which procedure of theirs, many of the most inconsiderate among the Romans, who were carried away with violent passions, followed hard after them as they were retiring, and applied ladders to the cloister, and got up to it suddenly; but the prudenter part of them, when they understood this unaccountable retreat of the Jews, stood still where they were before. However, the cloister was full of those that were gone up the ladders; at which time the Jews set it all on fire; and as the flame burst out every where on the sudden, the Romans that were out of the danger were siezed with a very great consternation, as were those that were in the midst of the danger in the utmost distress. So when they perceived themselves surrounded with the flames, some of them threw themselves down backwards into the city, and some among their enemies [in the temple], as did many leap down to their own men, and broke their limbs to pieces; but a great number of those that were going to take those violent methods, were prevented by the fire; though some prevented the fire by their own swords. However, the fire was on the sudden carried so far as to surround those who would have otherwise perished. As for Cæsar himself, he could not however, but commiserate those that thus perished, although they got up thither without any order for so doing, since there was no way of giving them any relief. Yet was this some comfort to those that were destroyed, that every body might see that person grieve, for whose sake they came to their end: for he cried out openly to them, and leaped up, and exhorted those that were about him to do their utmost to relieve them. So every one of them died cheerfully, as carrying along with them these words, and this intention of Cæsar as a sepulchral monument. Some there were indeed who retired into the wall of the cloister, which was broad and were preserved out of the fire, but were then surrounded by the Jews: and although they made resistance against the Jews for a long time, yet were they wounded by them; and at length they all fell down dead,

2. At the last a young man among them, whose name was *Longus*, became a decoration to this sad affair; and while every one of them that perished were worthy of a memorial, this man appeared to deserve it beyond all the rest. Now the Jews admired this man for his courage, and were farther desirous of having him slain; so they persuaded him to come down to them, upon security given him for his life. But Cornelius his brother persuaded him, on the contrary, not to tarnish their own glory, nor that of the Roman army. He complied with this

last advice, and lifting up his sword before both armies, he slew himself. Yet there was one Artorius among those surrounded with the fire, who escaped by his subtilty; for when he had with a loud voice called to him Lucius, one of his fellow soldiers that lay with him in the same tent, and said to him, "I do leave "thee heir of all I have, if thou wilt come and receive me." Upon this he came running to receive him readily: Artorius then threw himself down upon him, and saved his own life, while he that received him was dashed so vehemently against the stone pavement by the other's weight, that he died immediately. This melancholy accident made the Romans sad for a while, but still it made them more upon their guard for the future, and was of advantage to them against the delusions of the Jews, by which they were greatly damaged through their unacquaintedness with the places, and with the nature of the inhabitants. Now this cloister was burnt down as far as John's tower, which he built in the war he made against Simon, over the gates that led to the Xystus. The Jews also cut off the rest of that cloister from the temple, after they had destroyed those that got up to it. But the next day the Romans burnt down the northern cloister entirely as far as the east cloister, whose common angle joined to the valley that was called Cedron, and was built over it; on which account the depth was frightful. And this was the state of the temple at that time.

3. Now, of those that perished by famine in the city, the number was prodigious; and the miseries they underwent were unspeakable; for if so much as the shadow of any kind of food did any where appear, a war was commenced presently, and the dearest friends fell a fighting one with another about it, snatching from each other the most miserable supports of life. Nor would men believe that those who were dying had no food, but the robbers would search them when they were expiring, lest any one should have concealed food in their bosoms; and counterfeited dying; nay, these robbers gaped for want, and ran about stumbling and staggering along like mad dogs, and reeling against the doors of the houses like drunken men; they would also, in the great distress they were in, rush into the very same houses two or three times in one and the same day. Moreover, their hunger was so intolerable, that it obliged them to chew every thing, while they gathered such things as the most sordid animals would not touch, and endured to eat them; nor did they at length abstain from girdles and shoes, and the very leather which belonged to their shields they pulled off and gnawed: the very wisps of old hay became food to some, and some gathered up fibres, and sold a very small weight of them for four Attic [drachmæ]. But why do I describe the shame-

less impudence that the famine brought on men in their eating inanimate things? while I am going to relate a matter of fact, the like to which no history relates*, either among the Greeks or Barbarians. It is horrible to speak of it, and incredible when heard. I had indeed willingly omitted this calamity of ours, that I might not seem to deliver what is so portentous to posterity, but that I have innumerable witnesses to it in my own age: and besides, my country would have had little reason to thank me for suppressing the miseries that she underwent at this time.

4. There was a certain woman that dwelt beyond Jordan, her name was *Mary*, her father was Eleasar, of the village Bethezub, which signifies *the house of Hyssop*. She was eminent for her family and her wealth, and had fled away to Jerusalem with the rest of the multitude, and was with them besieged therein at this time. The other effects of this woman had been already siezed upon, such I mean as she had brought with her out of Perea, and removed to the city. What she had treasured up besides, as also what food she had contrived to save, had been also carried off by the rapacious guards, who came every day running into her house for that purpose. This put the poor woman into a very great passion, and by the frequent reproaches and imprecations she cast at these rapacious villains, she had provoked them to anger against her; but none of them, either out of the indignation she had raised against herself, or out of commiseration of her case, would take away her life: and if she found any food, she perceived her labours were for others, and not for herself, and it was now become impossible for her any way to find any more food, while the famine pierced through her very bowels and marrow, when also her passion was fired to a degree beyond the famine itself: nor did she consult with

* What Josephus observes here, that no parallel examples had been recorded before this time of such sieges, wherein mothers were forced by extremity of famine to eat their own children, as had been threatened to the Jews in the law of Moses, upon obstinate disobedience, and more than once fulfilled (see my Boyle's Lectures, p. 210—214,) is by Dr. Hudson supposed to have had two or three parallel examples in latter ages. He might have had more examples, I suppose, of persons on ship board, or in a desert island, casting lots for each other's bodies; but all this was only in cases where they knew of no possible way to avoid death themselves, but by killing and eating others. Whether such examples come up to the present case, may be doubted. The Romans were not only willing, but very desirous to grant those Jews in Jerusalem, both their lives and their liberties, and to save both their city and their temple. But the Zealots, the robbers, and the seditious, would hearken to no terms of submission. They voluntarily chose to reduce the citizens to that extremity, as to force mother's to this unnatural barbarity, which in all its circumstances, has not, I still suppose, been hitherto paralleled among the rest of mankind.

any thing but with her passion and the necessity she was in. She then attempted a most unnatural thing, and, snatching up her son, who was a child sucking at her breast, she said, "O thou "miserable infant! for whom shall I preserve thee in this war, "this famine, and this sedition? As to the war with the Ro-"mans, if they preserve our lives we must be slaves. This "famine also will destroy us even before that slavery comes "upon us. Yet are these seditious rogues more terrible than "both the other. Come on; be thou my food, and be thou a "fury to these seditious varlets, and a by-word to the world, "which is all that is now wanting to complete the calamities of "us Jews." As soon as she had said this, she slew her son, and then roasted him, and eat the one half of him, and kept the other half by her concealed. Upon this the seditious came in presently, and smelling the horrid scent of this food, they threatened her, that they would cut her throat immediately if she did not shew them what food she had gotten ready. She replied, That "she had saved a very fine portion of it for them;" and withal uncovered what was left of her son. Hereupon they were siezed with an horror and amazement of mind, and stood astonished at the sight, when she said to them, "This is mine own son, "and what hath been done was mine own doing. Come eat of "this food; for I have eaten of it myself. Do not you pretend "to be either more tender than a woman, or more compas-"sionate than a mother, but if you be so scrupulous, and do "abominate this my sacrifice, as I have eaten the one half, let "the rest be preserved for me also." After which those men went out trembling, being never so much affrighted at any thing as they were at this, and with some difficulty they left the rest of that meat to the mother. Upon which the whole city was full of this horrid action immediately; and while every body laid this miserable case before their own eyes, they trembled, as if this unheardof action had been done by themselves. So those that were thus distressed by the famine, were very desirous to die, and those already dead were esteemed happy, because they had not lived long enough, either to hear or to see such miseries.

5. This sad instance was quickly told to the Romans, some of which could not believe it, and others pitied the distress which the Jews were under: but there were many of them who were hereby induced to a more bitter hatred than ordinary against our nation. But for Cæsar, he excused himself before God as to this matter, and said, that "he had proposed peace and liber-"ty to the Jews, as well as an oblivion of all their former inso-"lent practices: but that they, instead of concord, had chosen "sedition; instead of peace, war; and before satiety and abun-

" dance, a famine. That they had begun with their own hands " to burn down that temple, which we have preserved hither- " to; and that therefore they deserved to eat such food as this " was. That, however, this horrid action of eating an own " child ought to be covered with the overthrow of their very " country itself, and men ought not to leave such a city upon " the habitable earth, to be seen by the sun, wherein mothers " are thus fed, although such food be fitter for the fathers than " for the mothers to eat of, since it is they that continue still in " a state of war against us, after they have undergone such mi- " series as these." And at the same time that he said this, he reflected on the desperate condition these men must be in, nor could he expect that such men could be recovered to sobriety of mind, after they had endured those very sufferings, for the avoiding whereof it only was probable they might have repented.

CHAP. IV.

When the banks were completed, and the battering rams brought, and could do nothing, Titus gave orders to set fire to the gates of the temple; in no long time after which, the holy house itself was burnt down, even against his consent.

§ 1. AND now two of the legions had completed their banks on the eighth day of the month Lous, [Ab]. Whereupon Titus gave orders that the battering rams should be brought, and set over the western edifice of the inner temple; for before these were brought, the firmest of all the other engines had battered the wall for six days together without ceasing, without making any impression upon it; but the vast largeness and strong connexion of the stones was superior to that engine, and to the other battering rams also. Other Romans did indeed undermine the foundations of the northern gate, and after a world of pains removed the outermost stones, yet was the gate still upheld by the inner stones, and stood still unhurt; till the workmen, despairing of all such attempts by engines and crows, brought their ladders to the cloisters. Now the Jews did not interrupt them in so doing; but when they were gotten up, they fell upon them, and fought with them, some of them they thrust down, and threw them backwards headlong, others of them they met, and slew; they also beat many of those that went down the ladder again, and slew them with their swords before they could bring their shields to protect them; nay, some of the ladders they threw down from above when they were full of armed men; a great slaughter was made of the Jews also at the same time, while those that bare the ensigns, fought hard for

them, as deeming it a terrible thing, and that would tend to their great shame, if they permitted them to be stolen away. Yet did the Jews at length, get possession of these engines, and destroyed those that had gone up the ladders, while the rest were so intimidated by what those suffered who were slain, that they retired; although none of the Romans died without having done good service before his death. Of the seditious, those that had fought bravely in the former battle, did the like now, as besides them did Eleazar, the brother's son of Simon the tyrant. But when Titus perceived that his endeavours to spare a foreign temple turned to the damage of his soldiers and made them be killed, he gave orders to set the gates on fire.

2. In the mean time there deserted to him Ananus, who came from Emmaus, the most bloody of all Simon's guards, and Archelaus, the son of Magadatus, they hoping to be still forgiven, because they left the Jews at a time when they were the conquerors. Titus objected this to these men as a cunning trick of theirs; and as he had been informed of their other barbarities towards the Jews, he was going in all haste to have them both slain. He told them, that "they were only driven to this "desertion because of the utmost distress they were in, and did "not come away of their own good disposition: and that those "did not deserve to be preserved, by whom their own city was "already set on fire, out of which fire they now hurried them-"selves away." However, the security he had promised deserters overcame his resentments, and he dismissed them accordingly, though he did not give them the same privileges that he had offered to others. And now the soldiers had already put fire to the gates, and the silver that was over them quickly carried the flames to the wood that was within it, whence it spread itself all on the sudden, and caught hold of the cloisters. Upon the Jews seeing this fire all about them, their spirits sunk together with their bodies, and they were under such astonishment, that not one of them made any haste, either so defend himself or to quench the fire, but they stood as mute spectators of it only. However, they did not so grieve at the loss of what was now burning, as to grow wiser thereby for the time to come; but as though the holy house itself had been on fire already, they whetted their passions against the Romans. This fire prevailed during that day and the next also; for the soldiers were not able to burn all the cloisters that were round about together at one time, but only by pieces.

3. But then, on the next day, Titus commanded part of his army to quench the fire, and to make a road for the more easy marching up of the legions, while he himself gathered the commanders together. Of those there were assembled the six prin-

cipal persons, Tiberius Alexander, the commander [under the general] of the whole army, with Sextus Cerealis, the commander of the fifth legion, and Larcius Lepidus, the commander of the tenth legion, and Titus Frigius, the commander of the fifteenth legion; there was also with them Eternius, the leader of the two legions that came from Alexandria, and Marcus Antonius Julianus, procurator of Judea: after these came together also the rest of the procurators and tribunes. Titus proposed to these, that they should give him their advice what should be done about the holy house. Now some of these thought, "It "would be the best way to act according to the rules of war, "[and demolish it], because the Jews would never leave off "rebelling while that house was standing, at which house it "was that they used to get all together." Others of them were of opinion, That "in case the Jews would leave it, and "none of them would lay their arms up in it, he might save "it; but that in case they got upon it, and fought any more, "he might burn it; because it must then be looked upon not "as an holy house, but as a citadel, and that the impiety of "burning it would then belong to those that forced this to be "done, and not to them." But Titus said, That "although "the Jews should get upon that holy house, and fight us thence, "yet ought we not to revenge ourselves on things that are inanimate, instead of the men themselves; and that he was not "in any case for burning down so vast a work as that was, be-"cause this would be a mischief to the Romans themselves, as "it would be an ornament to their government while it contin-"ued." So Fronto, and Alexander, and Cerealis grew bold upon that declaration, and agreed to the opinion of Titus. Then was this assembly dissolved, when Titus had given orders to the commanders that the rest of their forces should lie still, but that they should make use of such as were most courageous in this attack. So he commanded that the chosen men that were taken out of the cohorts should make their way through the ruins, and quench the fire.

4. Now it is true, that on this day the Jews were so weary, and under such consternation: that they refrained from any attacks. But on the next day, they gathered their whole force together, and ran upon those that guarded the outward court of the temple, very boldly, through the east-gate, and this about the second hour of the day. These guards received that their attack with great bravery, and by covering themselves with their shields before, as if it were with a wall, they drew their squadron close together; yet it was evident that they could not abide there very long, but would be overborne by the multitude of those that sallied out upon them, and by the heat of

their passion. However, Cæsar seeing, from the tower of Antonia, that this squadron was likely to give way, he sent some chosen horsemen to support them. Hereupon the Jews found themselves not able to sustain their onset, and upon the slaughter of those in the fore-front, many of the rest were put to flight. But as the Romans were going off the Jews turned back upon them, and fought them; and as those Romans came back upon them, they retreated again, until about the fifth hour of the day they were overborne, and shut themselves up in the inner [court of the] temple.

5. So Titus retired into the tower of Antonia, and resolved to storm the temple the next day, early in the morning, with his whole army, and to encamp round about the holy house. But as for that house, God had, for certain, long ago doomed it to the fire; and now that fatal day was come, according to the revolution of ages, it was the tenth day of the month Lous, [Ab], upon which it was formerly burnt by the king of Babylon; although these flames took their rise from the Jews themselves, and were occasioned by them: for upon Titus's retiring, the seditious lay still for a little while, and then attacked the Romans again, when those that guarded the holy house, fought with those that quenched the fire that was burning the inner [court of the] temple; but these Romans put the Jews to flight, and proceeded as far as the holy house itself. At which time one of the soldiers, without staying for any orders, and without any concern or dread upon him at so great an undertaking, and being hurried only by a certain divine fury, snatched somewhat out of the materials that were on fire, and being lifted up by another soldier, he set fire to a golden window, through which there was a passage to the rooms that were round about the holy house, on the north side of it. As the flames went upward, the Jews made a great clamour, such as so mighty an affliction required, and ran together to prevent it; and now they spared not their lives any longer, nor suffered any thing to restrain their force since that holy house was perishing, for whose sake it was that they kept such a guard about it.

6. And now a certain person came running to Titus, and told him of this fire, as he was resting himself in his tent after the last battle: whereupon he rose up in great haste, and, as he was, ran to the holy house in order to have a stop put to the fire; after him followed all his commanders, and after them followed the several legions in great astonishment: so there was a great clamour and tumult raised, as was natural upon the disorderly motion of so great an army. Then did Cæsar, both by calling to the soldiers that were fighting, with a loud voice, and by giving a signal to them with his right hand, ordered them to quench

the fire. But they did not hear what he said, though he spake so loud, having their ears already dinned by a great noise another way: nor did they attend to the signal he made with his hand neither, as still some of them were distracted with fighting, and others with passion. But as for the legions that came running thither, neither any persuasions, nor any threatenings could restrain their violence, but each one's own passion was his commander at this time; and as they were crowding into the temple together, many of them were trampled on by one another, while a great number fell among the ruins of the cloisters, which were still hot, and smoking, and were destroyed in the same miserable way with those whom they had conquered: and when they were come near the holy house, they made as if they did not so much as hear Cæsar's orders to the contrary, but they encouraged those that were before them to set it on fire. As for the seditious, they were in too great distress already to afford their assistance [towards quenching the fire]: they were every where slain, and every where beaten; and as for a great part of the people, they were weak and without arms, and had their throats cut wherever they were caught. Now, round about the altar lay dead bodies heaped upon one another, as at the steps * going up to it ran a great quantity of their blood, whether also the dead bodies that were slain above [on the altar] fell down.

7. And now, since Cæsar was no way able to restrain the enthusiastic fury of the soldiers, and the fire proceeded on more and more, he went into the holy place of the temple, with his commanders, and saw it, with what was in it, which he found to be far superior to what the relations of foreigners contained, and not inferior to what we ourselves boasted of, and believed about it. But as the flame had not as yet reached to its inward parts, but was still consuming the rooms that were about the holy house, and Titus supposing what the fact was, that the house itself might yet be saved, he came in haste and endeavoured to persuade the soldiers to quench the fire, and gave order to Liberalius the centurion, and one of those spearmen that were about him, to beat the soldiers that were refractory with their staves, and to restrain them; yet were their passions too hard for the regards they had for Cæsar, and the dread they had

* These steps to the altar of burnt-offering seem here either an improper and inaccurate expression of Josephus, since it was unlawful to make ladder steps (see description of the temple, chap. xiii and note on Antiq. Book IV. chap. viii. sect. 5. Vol. 1); or else those steps or stairs now in use were invented in the days of Herod the Great, and had been here built by him; though the later Jews always deny it, and say that even Herod's altar was ascended to by an acclivity only.

of him who forbade them, as was their hatred of the Jews, and a certain vehement inclination to fight them, too hard for them also. Moreover, the hope of plunder induced many to go on, as having this opinion, that all the places within were full of money, and as seeing that all round about it was made of gold. And besides, one of those that went into the place prevented Cæsar, when he ran so hastily out to restrain the soldiers, and threw the fire upon the hinges of the gate, in the dark; whereby the flame burst out from within the holy house itself immediately when the commanders retired, and Cæsar with them, and when nobody any longer forbade those that were without to set fire to it. And thus was the holy house burnt down, without Cæsar's approbation.

8. Now, although any one would justly lament the destruction of such a work as this was, since it was the most admirable of all the works that we have seen, or heard of, both for its curious structure, and its magnitude, and also for the vast wealth bestowed upon it, as well as for the glorious reputation it had for its holiness; yet might such an one comfort himself with this thought, that it was fate that decreed it so to be, which is inevitable, both as to living creatures, and as to works and places also. However, one cannot but wonder at the accuracy of this period thereto relating; for the same month and day were now observed, as I said before, wherein the holy house was burnt formerly by the Babylonians. Now the number of years that passed from its first foundation, which was laid by king Solomon, till this its destruction, which happened in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, are collected to be one thousand one hundred and thirty, besides seven months and fifteen days; and from the second building of it, which was done by Haggai, in the second year of Cyrus the king, till its destruction under Vespasian, there were six hundred thirty-nine years and forty-five days.

CHAP. V.

The great distress the Jews were in upon the conflagration of the holy house. Concerning a false prophet, and the signs that preceded this destruction.

§ 1. WHILE the house was on fire, every thing was plundered that came to hand, and ten thousand of those that were caught were slain: nor was there a commiseration of any age, or any reverence of gravity; but children, and old men, and profane persons, and priests, were all slain in the same manner; so that this war went round all sorts of men, and brought

them to destruction, and as well those that made supplication for their lives, as those that defended themselves by fighting. The flame was also carried a long way, and made an echo, together with the groans of those that were slain; and because this hill was high, and the works at the temple were very great, one would have thought the whole city, had been on fire. Nor can one imagine any thing either greater, or more terrible than this noise; for there was at once a shout of the Roman legions, who were marching all together, and a sad clamour of the seditious, who were now surrounded with fire and sword. The people also that were left above were beaten back upon the enemy, and under a great consternation, and made sad moans at the calamity they were under, the multitude also that was in the city joined in this outcry with those that were upon the hill. And besides, many of those that were worn away by the famine, and their mouths almost closed, when they saw the fire of the holy house, they exerted their utmost strength, and brake out into groans and outcries again: Perea * did also return the echo, as well as the mountains round about [the city], and augmented the force of the entire noise. Yet was the misery itself more terrible than this disorder; for one would have thought that the hill itself, on which the temple stood, was seething hot, as full of fire on every part of it, that the blood was larger in quantity than the fire, and those that were slain more in number than those that slew them: for the ground did no where appear visible, for the dead bodies that lay on it, but the soldiers went over heaps of those bodies, as they ran upon such as fled from them. And now it was that the multitude of the robbers were thrust out [of the inner court of the temple] by the Romans, and had much ado to get into the outward court, and from thence into the city, while the remainder of the populace fled into the cloister of that outer court. As for the priests, some of them plucked up from the holy house the spikes† that were upon it, with their bases, which were made of lead, and shot them at the Romans instead of darts. But

* This Perea, if the word be not mistaken in the copies, cannot well be that Perea which was beyond Jordan, whose mountains were at a considerable distance from Jordan, and much too remote from Jerusalem to join this echo at the conflagration of the temple; but Perea must be rather some mountains beyond the brook Cedron, as was the mount of Olives, or some others about such a distance from Jerusalem; which observation is so obvious, that it is a wonder our commentators here take no notice of it.

† Reland I think here judges well, when he interprets these spikes (of those that stood on the top of the holy house) with sharp points: they were fixed into lead, to prevent the birds from sitting there, and defiling the holy house; for such spikes there were now upon it, as Josephus himself hath already assured us, Book V. chap. v. sect. 6, vol. IV.

then, as they gained nothing by so doing, and as the fire burst out upon them, they retired to the wall, that was eight cubits broad, and there they tarried; yet did two of these of eminence among them, who might have saved themselves by going over to the Romans, or have borne up with courage, and taken their fortune with the others, threw themselves into the fire, and were burnt, together with the holy house, their names was Meirus the son of Belgas, and Joseph the son of Daleus.

2. And now the Romans, judging that it was in vain to spare what was round about the holy house, burnt all those places, as also the remains of the cloisters and the gates, two excepted; the one on the east side, and the other on the south; both which however, they burnt afterward. They also burnt down the treasury chambers, in which was an immense quantity of money, and an immense number of garments, and other precious goods there reposited; and, to speak all in a few words, there it was that the entire riches of the Jews were heaped up together, while the rich people had there built themselves chambers [to contain such furniture.] The soldiers also came to the rest of the cloisters that were in the outer [court of the] temple, whether the women, and children, and a great mixed multitude of the people fled, in number about six thousand. But before Cæsar had determined any thing about these people, or given the commanders any orders relating to them, the soldiers were in such a rage, that they set that cloister on fire; by which means it came to pass, that some of these were destroyed by throwing themselves down head-long, and some were burnt in the cloisters themselves. Nor did any one of them escape with his life. A false prophet was the occasion * of these people's destruction, who had made a public proclamation in the city that very day, That "God commanded them to get up upon "the temple, and that there they should receive miraculous "signs of their deliverance." Now, there was then a great number of false prophets suborned by the tyrants to impose on the people, who denounced this to them, that they should wait for deliverance from God; and this was in order to keep them from deserting, and that they might be buoyed up above fear and care by such hopes. Now a man that is in adversity does easily comply with such promises; for, when such a seducer makes him believe that he shall be delivered from those miseries which oppress him, then it is that the patient is full of hopes of such his deliverance.

3. Thus were the miserable people persuaded by these deceiv-

* Reland here takes notice that these Jews who had despised the true Prophet, were deservedly abused and deluded by these false ones.

ers, and such as belied God himself; while they did not attend, nor give credit to the signs that were so evident, and did so plainly foretel their future desolation, but like men infatuated, without either eyes to see, or minds to consider, did not regard the denunciations that God made to them. Thus there was a star * resembling a sword, which stood over the city, and a comet* that continued a whole year. Thus also before the Jews rebellion, and before those commotions which preceded the war, when the people were come in great crowds to the feast of unleavened bread, on the eighth day † of the month Xanthicus, [Nisan], and at the ninth hour of the night, so great a light shone round the altar and the holy house, that it appeared to be bright daytime; which light lasted for half an hour. This light seemed to be a good sign to the unskilful, but was so interpreted by the sacred scribes, as to portend those events that followed immediately upon it. At the same festival also, an heifer, as she was led by the high-priest to be sacrificed, brought forth a lamb in the midst of the temple. Moreover the eastern gate of the inner [court of the] temple, which was of brass, and vastly heavy, and had been with difficulty shut by twenty men, and rested upon a basis armed with iron, and had bolts fastened very deep into the firm floor, which was there made of one entire stone, was seen to be opened of its own accord about the sixth hour of the night. Now, those that kept watch in the temple came hereupon running to the captain of the temple, and told him of it; who then came up thither, and, not without great difficulty, was able to shut the gate again. This also appeared to the vulgar to be a very happy prodigy, as if God did thereby open them the gate of happiness. But the men of learning understood it, that the security of their holy house was dissolved of its own accord, and that the gate was opened for the advantage of their enemies. So these publicly declared, that the signal fore-showed the desolation that was coming upon them. Besides these, a few days after that feast, on the one and twentieth day of the month Artemisius, [Jyar,] a certain prodigious and incredible phenomenon appeared: I suppose the account of it would seem to be a fable, were it not related by those that saw it, and were not the events that followed

* Whether Josephus means that this star was different from that comet which lasted a whole year, I cannot certainly determine. His words most favour their being different one from another.

† Since Josephus still uses the Syro-Macedonian month Xanthicus for the Jewish month Nisan, this 8th, or as Nicephorus read it, this 9th of Xanthicus or Nisan was almost a week before the Passover on the 14th: about which time we learn from St. John that many used to go "out of the country to Jerusalem to purify themselves," John xi. 55. with xii. 1. in agreement with Josephus also, Book V. chap. iii. sect. 1. Vol. IV. And it might well be, that in the sight of these this extraordinary light might appear.

it of so considerable a nature as to deserve such signals: for, before sun-setting, chariots and troops of soldiers in their armour were seen running about among the clouds, and surrounding of cities. Moreover, at that feast which we call *Pentecost*, as the priests were going by night into the * inner [court of the] temple, as their custom was, to perform their sacred ministrations, they said, that in the first place they felt a quaking, and heard a great noise, and after that they heard a sound as of a multitude, saying, "Let us remove hence." But, what is still more terrible, there was one Jesus the son of Ananus, a plebian, and an husbandman, who, four years before the war began, and at a time when the city was in very great peace and prosperity, came to that feast whereon it is our custom for every one to make tabernacles to God in the temple †, began on a sudden to cry aloud, "A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the "four winds, a voice against Jerusalem and the holy house, a "voice against the bridegrooms and the brides, and a voice a-"gainst this whole people!" This was his cry, as he went about by day and by night, in all the lanes of the city. However, certain of the most eminent among the populace had great indignation at this dire cry of his, and took up the man, and gave him a great number of severe stripes: yet did not he either say any thing for himself, or any thing peculiar to those that chastised him, but still went on with the same words which he cried before. Hereupon our rulers, supposing, as the case proved to be, that this was a sort of divine fury in the man, brought him to the Roman procurator; where he was whipped till his bones were laid bare; yet did not he make any supplication for himself, nor shed any tears, but turning his voice to the most lamentable tone possible, at every stroke of the whip his answer was, "Wo, wo to Jerusalem!" And when Albinus (for he was then our procurator) asked him, "Who he was? and whence "he came? and why he uttered such words?" he made no manner of reply to what he said, but still did not leave off his melancholy ditty, till Albinus took him to be a madman, and dismissed him. Now, during all the time that passed before the war began, this man did not go near any of the citizens, nor was seen by them while he said so; but he every day uttered these

* This here seems to be the court of the priests.

† Both Reland and Havercamp in this place alter the natural punctuation and sense of Josephus, and this contrary to the opinion of Valesius and Dr. Hudson, lest Josephus should say that the Jews built booths or tents within the temple at the feast of tabernacles; which the latter rabbins will not allow to have been the ancient practice; but then, since it is expressly told us in Nehemiah chap. viii. 16. that in still elder times "the Jews made booths in the courts of the house of God" at that festival, Josephus may well be permitted to say the same. And indeed the modern rabbins are of very small authority in all such matters of remote antiquity.

lamentable words, as if it were his premeditated vow, "Wo, wo to Jerusalem!" Nor did he give ill words to any of those that beat him every day, nor good words to those that gave him food; but this was his reply to all men, and indeed no other than a melancholy presage of what was to come. This cry of his was the loudest at the festivals; and he continued this ditty for seven years and five months, without growing hoarse, or being tired therewith until the very time that he saw his presage in earnest fulfilled in our siege, when it ceased; for, as he was going round upon the wall, he cried out with his utmost force, "Wo, wo to the city again, and to the people, and to "the holy house!" And just as he added at the last, "Wo, wo "to myself also!" there came a stone out of one of the engines, and smote him, and killed him immediately; and as he was uttering the very same presages, he gave up the ghost.

4. Now, if any one consider these things, he will find that God takes care of mankind, and by all ways possible foreshows to our race what is for their preservation, but that men perish by those miseries which they madly and voluntarily bring upon themselves; for the Jews, by demolishing the tower of Antonia, had made their temple four-square, while at the same time they had it written in their sacred oracles, That "then should "their city be taken, as well as their holy house, when once "their temple should become four-square." But now, what did the most elevate them in undertaking this war, was an ambiguous oracle that was found also in their sacred writings, How "about that time one from their country should become "governor of the habitable earth." The Jews took this prediction to belong to themselves in particular, and many of the wise men were thereby deceived in their determination. Now, this oracle certainly denoted the government of Vespasian, who was appointed emperor in Judea. However, it is not possible for men to avoid fate, although they see it before-hand. But these men interpreted some of these signals according to their own pleasure, and some of them they utterly despised, until their madness was demonstrated, both by the taking of their city, and their own destruction.

CHAP. VI.

How the Romans carried their ensigns to the temple, and made joyful acclamations to Titus. The speech that Titus made to the Jews when they made application for mercy. What reply they made thereto; and how that reply moved Titus's indignation against them.

§ 1. And now the Romans, upon the flight of the seditious into the city, and upon the burning of the holy house itself

and of all the buildings round about it, brought their ensigns to the temple*, and set them over-against its eastern gate; and there did they offer sacrifices to them, and there did they make Titus *Imperator* † with the greatest acclamations of joy. And now all the soldiers had such vast quantities of the spoils which they had gotten by plunder, that in Syria a pound weight of gold was sold for half its former value. But as for those priests that kept themselves still upon the wall ‡ of the holy house, there was a boy that, out of the thirst he was in, desired some of the Roman guards to give him their right hand as a security for his life, and confessed he was very thirsty. These guards commisserated his age, and the distress he was in, and gave him their right hands accordingly. So he came down himself, and drank some water, and filled the vessel he had with him when he came to them with water, and then went off, and fled away to his own friends; nor could any of those guards overtake him; but still they reproached him for his perfidiousness. To which he made this answer; "I have not broken "the agreement; for the security I had given me was not in "order to my staying with you, but only in order to my coming "down safely, and taking up some water; both which things "I have performed, and thereupon think myself to have been "faithful to my engagement." Hereupon those whom the child had imposed upon admired at his cunning, and that on account of his age. On the fifth day afterward, the priests that were pined with the famine came down, and when they were brought to Titus by the guards, they begged for their lives: but he replied, That "the time of pardon was over as to them, "and that this very holy house, on whose account only they "could justly hope to be preserved, was destroyed, and that it "was agreeable to their office, that priests should perish with "the house itself to which they belonged." So he ordered them to be put to death.

2. But as for the tyrants themselves, and those that were with them, when they found that they were encompassed on every side, and, as it were, walled round, without any method of escaping, they desired to treat with Titus by word of mouth.

* Take Havercamp's note here, "This (says he) is a remarkable place:" and Tertullian truly says in his Apolegetic, chap. xvi. p. 162. That "the entire religion "of the Roman camp almost consisted in worshipping the ensigns, in swearing by "the ensigns, and in preferring the ensigns before all the [other] gods." See what Havercamp says upon that place of Tertullian.

† This declaring Titus Imperator by the soldiers, upon such signal success, and the slaughter of such a vast number of enemies, was according to the usual practice of the Romans in like cases, as Reland assures us on this place.

‡ The Jews of later times agree with Josephus, that there were hiding places or secret chambers about the holy house, as Reland here informs us, where he thinks he has found these very walls described by them.

Accordingly, such was the kindness of his nature, and his desire of preserving the city from destruction, and was joined to the advice of his friends, who now thought the robbers were come to a temper, that he placed himself on the western side of the outer [court of the] temple; for there were gates on that side above the Xystus, and a bridge that connected the upper city to the temple. This bridge it was that lay between the tyrants and Cæsar, and parted them; while the multitude stood on each side, those of the Jewish nation about Simon and John, with great hopes of pardon, and the Romans about Cæsar, in great expectation how Titus would receive their supplication. So Titus charged his soldiers to restrain their rage, and to let their darts alone, and appointed an interpreter between them, which was a sign that he was the conqueror, and first began the discourse, and said, "I hope you, Sirs, are now satiated with the miseries of "your country, who have not had any just notions, either of "our great power, or of your own great weakness, but have "like madmen, after a violent and inconsiderate manner, made "such attempts, as have brought your people, your city, and "your holy house to destruction. You have been the men that "have never left off rebelling since Pompey first conquered you; "and have, since that time, made open war with the Romans. "Have you depended on your multitude, while a very small "part of the Roman soldiery have been strong enough for you? "Have you relied on the fidelity of your confederates? And "what nations are there, out of the limits of our dominion, that "would choose to assist the Jews before the Romans? Are your "bodies stronger than ours? Nay, you know that the [strong] "Germans themselves are our servants. Have you stronger "walls than we have? Pray, what greater obstacle is there "than the wall of the ocean, with which the Britons are encom- "passed, and yet do adore the arms of the Romans. Do you "exceed us in courage of soul, and in the sagacity of your com- "manders? Nay, indeed you cannot but know that the very "Carthaginians have been conquered by us. It can therefore be "nothing certainly but the kindness of us Romans which hath "excited you against us. Who, in the first place, have given "you this land to possess; and, in the next place, have set over "you kings of your own nation; and, in the third place, have "preserved the laws of your forefathers to you, and have withal "permitted you to live, either by yourselves, or among others, "as it should please you: and, what is our chief favour of all, "we have given you leave to gather up that tribute which is "paid to God *, with such other gifts that are dedicated to

* Spanheim notes here, that the Romans used to permit the Jews to collect their

" him; nor have we called those that carried these donations to " account, nor prohibited them; till at length you became " richer than we ourselves, even when you were our enemies; " and you made preparations for war against us with our own " money, nay, after all, when you were in the enjoyment of all " these advantages, you turned your too great plenty against " those that gave it you, and, like merciless serpents, have " thrown out your poison against those that treated you kindly. " I suppose, therefore, that you might despise the slothfulness " of Nero, and, like limbs of the body that are broken or dis- " located, you did then lie quiet, waiting for some other time, " though still with a malicious intention, and have now showed " your distemper to be greater than ever, and have extended " your desires as far as your impudent and immense hopes " would enable you to do it. At this time my father came into " this country, not with a design to punish you for what you " had done under Cestius, but to admonish you; for, had he " come to overthrow your nation, he had run directly to your " fountain-head, and had immediately laid this city waste; " whereas, he went and burnt Galilee and the neighbouring " parts, and thereby gave you time for repentance: which in- " stance of humanity you took for an argument of his weak- " ness, and nourished up your impudence by our mildness. " When Nero was gone out of the world, you did as the " wickedest wretches would have done, and encouraged your- " selves to act against us by our civil dissensions, and abused " that time, when both I and my father were gone away for " Egypt to make preparations for this war. Nor were you " ashamed to raise disturbances against us when we were made " emperors, and this while you had experienced how mild we " had been, when we were no more than generals of the army. " But when the government was devolved upon us, and all " other people did thereupon lie quiet, and even foreign nations " sent embassies, and congratulated our access to the govern- " ment, then did you Jews show yourselves to be our enemies. " You sent embassies to those of your nation that are beyond " Euphrates to assist you in your raising disturbances: new " walls were built by you round your city, sedition arose, and " one tyrant contended against another, and a civil war broke " out among you; such indeed as became none but so wicked " a people as you are. I then came to this city, as unwillingly " sent by my father, and received melancholy injunctions from " him. When I heard that the people were disposed to peace,

sacred tribute, and send it to Jerusalem: of which we have had abundant evidence in Josephus already on other occasions.

" I rejoiced at it: I exhorted you to leave off these proceedings, " before I began this war: I spared you even when you had " fought against me a great while: I gave my right hand as " security to the deserters: I observed what I had promised " faithfully. When they fled to me, I had compassion on many " of those that I had taken captive: I tortured those that were " eager for war, in order to restrain them. It was unwillingly " that I brought my engines of war against your walls: I al- " ways prohibited my soldiers when they were set upon your " slaughter, from their severity against you. After every vic- " tory I persuaded you to peace, as though I had been myself " conquered. When I came near your temple, I again depart- " ed from the laws of war, and exhorted you to spare your own " sanctuary, and to preserve your holy house to yourselves. I " allowed you a quiet exit out of it, and security for your pre- " servation: nay, if you had a mind, I gave you leave to fight " in another place. Yet you have still despised every one of " my proposals, and have set fire to your holy house with your " own hands. And now, vile wretches, do you desire to treat with " me by word of mouth? To what purpose is it that you would " save such an holy house as this was, which is now destroy- " ed? What preservation can you now desire after the destruc- " tion of your temple? Yet do you stand still at this very time " in your armour: nor can you bring yourselves so much as to " pretend to be supplicants even in this your utmost extremi- " ty. O miserable creatures! what is it you depend on? Are " not your people dead? is not your holy house gone? Is not " your city in my power? and are not your own very lives in " my hands? And do you still deem it a part of valour to die? " However, I will not imitate your madness. If you will throw " down your arms, and deliver up your bodies to me, I grant " you your lives: and I will act like a mild master of a family; " what cannot be healed shall be punished, and the rest I will " preserve for my own use."

3. To that offer of Titus they made this reply, That " they " could not accept of it, because they had sworn never to do so, " but they desired they might have leave to go through the " wall that had been made about them, with their wives and " children; for that they would go into the desert, and leave " the city to him." At this Titus had great indignation, that, when they were in the case of men already taken captives, they should pretend to make their own terms with him, as if they had been conquerors. So he ordered this proclamation to be made to them, That " they should no more come out to him " as deserters, nor hope for any further security; for that he " would henceforth spare nobody, but fight them with his whole

"army; and that they must save themselves as well as they "could; for that he would from henceforth treat them according "to the laws of war." So he gave orders to the soldiers both to burn and to plunder the city; who did nothing indeed that day; but on the next day they set fire to the repository of the archives, to Acra, to the council-house; and to the place called Ophlas; at which time the fire proceeded as far as the palace of Queen Helena, which was in the middle of Acra: the lanes also were burnt down, as were also those houses that were full of the dead bodies of such as were destroyed by famine.

4. On the same day it was that the sons and brethren of Izates the king, together with many others of the eminent men of the populace, got together there, and besought Cæsar to give them his right hand for their security: upon which, though he was very angry at all that were now remaining, yet did he not lay aside his old moderation, but received these men. At that time indeed, he kept them all in custody, but still bound the king's sons and kinsmen, and led them with him to Rome, in order to make them hostages for their country's fidelity to the Romans.

CHAP. VII.

What afterwards befel the seditious, when they had done a great deal of mischief, and suffered many misfortunes; as also how Cæsar became master of the upper city.

§ 1. AND now the seditious rushed into the royal palace, into which many had put their effects, because it was so strong, and drove the Romans away from it. They also slew all the people that had crowded into it, who were in number about eight thousand four hundred, and plundered them of what they had. They also took two of the Romans alive; the one was a horseman, and the other a footman. They then cut the throat of the footman, and immediately had him drawn through the whole city, as revenging themselves upon the whole body of the Romans by this one instance. But the horseman said he had somewhat to suggest to them in order to their preservation; whereupon he was brought before Simon; but he having nothing to say when he was there, he was delivered to Ardalas, one of his commanders, to be punished, who bound his hands behind him, and put a ribband over his eyes, and then brought him out over against the Romans, as intending to cut off his head. But the man prevented that execution, and ran away to the Romans, and this while the Jewish executioner was drawing out his sword. Now when he was gotten away from the

enemy. Titus could not think of putting him to death, but because he deemed him unworthy of being a Roman soldier any longer on account that he had been taken alive by the enemy, he took away his arms, and ejected him out of the legion whereto he had belonged, which, to one that had a sense of shame was a penalty severer than death itself.

2. On the next day the Romans drove the robbers out of the lower city; and set all on fire as far as Siloam. These soldiers were indeed glad to see the city destroyed. But they missed the plunder, because the seditious had carried off all their effects, and were retired into the upper city; for they did not yet at all repent of the mischiefs they had done; but were insolent, as if they had done well; for, as they saw the city on fire, they appeared cheerful, and put on joyful countenances, in expectation, as they said, of death to end their miseries. Accordingly, as the people were now slain, the holy house was burnt down, and the city was on fire, there was nothing farther left for the enemy to do. Yet did not Josephus grow weary, even in this utmost extremity, to beg of them to spare what was left of the city; he spake largely to them about their barbarity and impiety, and gave them his advice in order to their escape; though he gained nothing thereby more than to be laughed at by them; and as they could not think of surrendering themselves up, because of the oath they had taken, nor were strong enough to fight with the Romans any longer upon the square, as being surrounded on all sides, and a kind of prisoners already, yet were they so accustomed to kill people, that they could not restrain their right hands from acting accordingly. So they dispersed themselves before the city, and laid themselves in ambush among its ruins, to catch those that attempted to desert to the Romans; accordingly many such deserters were caught by them and were all slain; for these were too weak by reason of their want of food to fly away from them; so their dead bodies were thrown to the dogs. Now every other sort of death was thought more tolerable than the famine, insomuch that, though the Jews despaired now of mercy, yet would they fly to the Romans, and would themselves, even of their own accord, fall among the murderous rebels also. Nor was there any place, in the city that had no dead bodies in it; but what was entirely covered with those that were killed either by the famine, or the rebellion, and all was full of the dead bodies of such as had perished, either by that sedition or by that famine.

3. So now the last hope which supported the tyrants, and that crew of robbers which were with them, was in the caves and caverns underground; whither, if they would once fly, they did not expect to be searched out, but endeavoured, that after

the whole city should be destroyed, and the Romans gone away, they might come out again, and escape from them. This was no better than a dream of theirs; for they were not able to lie hid either from God or from the Romans. However, they depended on these underground subterfuges, and set more places on fire than did the Romans themselves, and those that fled out of their houses thus set on fire, into the ditches, they killed without mercy, and pillaged them also; and if they discovered food belonging to any one, they siezed upon it and swallowed it down, together with their blood also; nay, they were now come to fight one with another about their plunder; and I cannot but think, that, had not their destruction prevented it, their barbarity would have made them taste of even the dead bodies themselves.

CHAP. VIII.

How Cæsar raised banks round about the upper city, and when they were completed, gave orders that the machines should be brought. He then possessed himself of the whole city.*

§ 1. Now when Cæsar perceived that the upper city was so steep that it could not possibly be taken without raising banks against it, he distributed the several parts of that work among his army, and this on the twentieth day of the month Lous [Ab]. Now, the carriage of the materials was a difficult task, since all the trees, as I have already told you, that were about the city, within the distance of an hundred furlongs, had their branches cut off already, in order to make the former banks. The works that belonged to the four legions were erected on the west side of the city, over against the royal palace: but the whole body of the auxiliary troops, with the rest of the multitude that were with them, [erected their banks] at the Xystus, whence they reached to the bridge, and that tower of Simon which he had built as a citadel for himself against John, when they were at war with one another.

2. It was at this time that the commanders of the Idumeans got together privately, and took counsel about surrendering up themselves to the Romans. Accordingly they sent five men to Titus, and entreated him to give them his right hand for their security. So Titus thinking that the tyrants would yield, if the Idumeans, upon whom a great part of the war depended, were once withdrawn from them, after some reluctancy, and delay, complied with them, and gave them security for their lives, and

* i. e Mount Sion.

sent the five men back. But as these Idumeans were preparing to march out, Simon perceived it, and immediately slew the five men that had gone to Titus, and took their commanders, and put them in prison, of whom the most violent was Jacob the son of Sosas; but as for the multitude of the Idumeans, who did not at all know what to do, now their commanders were taken from them, he had them watched, and secured the walls by a more numerous garrison. Yet could not that garrison resist those that were deserting, for although a great number of them were slain, yet were the deserters many more in number. These were all received by the Romans, because Titus himself grew negligent as to his former orders for killing them, and because the very soldiers grew weary of killing them, and because they hoped to get some money by sparing them; for they left only the populace, and sold * the rest of the multitude, with their wives and children, and every one of them at a very low price: and that because such as were sold were very many, and the buyers were few; and although Titus had made proclamation before-hand, that no deserter should come alone by himself; that so they might bring out their families with them, yet did he receive such as these also. However, he set over them such as were to distinguish some from others, in order to see if any of them deserved to be punished. And indeed the number of those that were sold was immense; but of the populace above forty thousand were saved, whom Cæsar let go whither every one of them pleased.

3. But now at this time it was that one of the priests, the son of Thebuthus, whose name was Jesus, upon his having security given him by the oath of Cæsar, that he should be preserved, upon condition that he should deliver to him certain of the precious things that had been reposited in the temple†, came out of it, and delivered him from the wall of the holy house two candlesticks, like to those that lay in the holy house, with tables, and cisterns, and vials, all made of solid gold, and very heavy. He also delivered to him the veils and the garments, with the precious stones, and a great number of other precious vessels

* This innumerable multitude of Jews that were *sold* by the Romans, were an eminent completion of God's ancient threatening by Moses, that if they apostatised from their obedience to his laws, they would be "sold unto their enemies for bondmen and bondwomen," Deut. xxviii. 68. See more especially the note on ch. ix. § 2. But the thing is here particularly remarkable, that Moses adds, Though they should be *sold* for slaves, yet *no man shall buy them i. e.* either they should have none to redeem them from this sale into slavery; or rather, that the slaves to be sold should be more than were the purchasers for them, and so they should be sold for little or nothing, which is what Josephus here affirms to have been the case at this time.

† What became of these spoils of the temple that escaped the fire, see Josephus himself hereafter, B. VII. ch. v. Reland *de Spoliis Templi*, p. 129—138.

that belonged to their sacred worship. The treasurer of the temple also, whose name was Phineas, was siezed on, and shewed Titus the coats and girdles of the priests, with a great quantity of purple and scarlet, which were then reposited for the uses of the veil, as also a great deal of cinnamon and cassia *, with a large quantity of other sweet spices which used to be mixed together, and offered as incense to God every day. A great many other treasures were also delivered to him, with sacred ornaments of the temple not a few; which things thus delivered to Titus obtained of him for this man the same pardon that he had allowed to such as deserted of their own accord.

4. And now were the banks finished on the seventh day of the month Gorpieus [Elul], in eighteen days time, when the Romans brought their machines against the wall. But for the seditious, some of them, as despairing of saving the city, retired from the wall to the citadel; others of them went down into the subterranean vaults, though still a great many of them defended themselves against those that brought the engines for the battery: yet did the Romans overcome them by their number, and by their strength; and, what was the principal thing of all, by going cheerfully about their work, while the Jews were quite dejected, and become weak. Now, as soon as a part of the wall was battered down, and certain of the towers yielded to the impression of the battering rams, those that opposed themselves fled away, and such a terror fell upon the tyrants, as was much greater than the occasion required; for before the enemy got over the breach they were quite stunned, and were immediately for flying away. And now one might see these men, who had hitherto been so insolent and arrogant in their wicked practices, to be cast down, and to tremble, insomuch that it would pity one's heart to observe the change that was made in those vile persons. Accordingly they ran with great violence upon the Roman wall that encompassed them, in order to force away those that guarded it, and to break through it, and get away. But when they saw that those who had formerly been faithful to them, had gone away (as indeed they were fled whithersoever the great distress they were in persuaded them to flee,) as also when those that came running before the rest told them that the western wall was entirely overthrown, while others said the Romans were gotten in, and others that they were near, and looking out for them, which were only the dictates of their fear,

* These various sorts of spices, even more than those four which Moses prescribed, Exod. xxxi. 34. we see were used in their public worship under Herod's temple, particularly cinnamon and cassia; which Reland takes particular notice of, as agreeing with the latter testimony of the Talmudists.

which imposed upon their sight, they fell upon their face, and greatly lamented their own mad conduct; and their nerves were so terribly loosed, that they could not flee away. And here one may chiefly reflect on the power of God exercised upon these wicked wretches, and on the good fortune of the Romans; for these tyrants did now wholly deprive themselves of the security they had in their own power, and came down from those very towers of their own accord, wherein they could have never been taken by force, nor indeed by any other way than by famine. And thus did the Romans, when they had taken such great pains about weaker walls, get by good fortune what they could never have gotten by their engines; for three of these towers were too strong for all mechanical engines whatsoever, concerning which we have treated above.

5. So they now left these towers of themselves, or rather they were ejected out of them by God himself, and fled immediately to that valley which was under Siloam, where they again recovered themselves out of the dread they were in for a while, and ran violently against that part of the Roman wall which lay on that side; but as their courage was too much depressed to make their attacks with sufficient force, and their power was now broken with fear and affliction, they were repulsed by the guards, and dispersing themselves at distances from each other; went down into the subterranean caverns. So the Romans being now become masters of the walls, they both placed their engines upon the towers, and made joyful acclamations for the victory they had gained, as having found the end of this war much lighter than its beginning; for when they had gotten upon the last wall, without any bloodshed, they could hardly believe what they found to be true; but seeing nobody to oppose them, they stood in doubt what such an unusual solitude could mean. But when they went in numbers into the lanes of the city, with their swords drawn, they slew those whom they overtook without mercy, and set fire to the houses whither the Jews were fled, and burnt every soul in them, and laid waste a great many of the rest, and when they were come to the houses to plunder them, they found in them entire families of dead men, and the upper rooms full of dead corpses, that is of such as died by the famine; they then stood in an horror at this sight, and went out without touching any thing. But although they had this commiseration for such as were destroyed in that manner, yet had they not the same for those that were still alive, but they ran every one thro' whom they met with, and obstructed the very lanes with their dead bodies, and made the whole city run down with blood, to such a degree indeed that the fire of many of the houses was quenched with these men's blood. And truly so it happened,

that though the slayers left off at the evening, yet did the fire greatly prevail in the night; and as all was burning, came that eight day of the month Gorpieus [Elul], upon Jerusalem, a city that had been liable to so many miseries during this siege, that, had it always enjoyed as much happiness from its first foundation, it would certainly have been the envy of the world. Nor did it on any other account so much deserve these sore misfortunes, as by producing such a generation of men as were the occasions of this its overthrow.

CHAP. IX.

What instructions Cæsar gave when he was come within the city. The number of the captives, and of those that perished in the siege; as also concerning those that had escaped into the subterranean caverns, among whom were the tyrants Simon and John themselves.

§ 1. Now when Titus was come into this [upper] city, he admired not only some other places of strength in it, but particularly those strong towers which the tyrants in their mad conduct, had relinquished: for when he saw their solid altitude, and the largeness of their several stones, and the exactness of their joints, as also how great was their breadth, and how extensive their length, he expressed himself after the manner following: "We have certainly had God for our assistant "in this war, and it was no other than God who ejected the "Jews out of these fortifications; for what could the hands of "men, or any machines do towards overthrowing these towers?" At which time he had many such discourses to his friends: he also let such go free as had been bound by the tyrants, and were left in the prisons. To conclude, when he entirely demolished the rest of the city, and overthrew its walls, he left these towers as a monument of his good fortune, which had proved his auxiliaries, and enabled him to take what could not otherwise have been taken by him.

2. And now, since his soldiers were already quite tired with killing men, and yet there appeared to be a vast multitude still remaining alive, Cæsar gave orders that they should kill none but those that were in arms, and opposed them, but should take the rest alive. But, together with those whom they had orders to slay, they slew the aged and the infirm; but for those that were in their flourishing age, and who might be useful to them, they drove them together into the temple, and shut them up within the walls of the court of the women; over which Cæsar set one of his freed-men, as also Fronto, one of his own

friends, which last was to determine every one's fate, according to his merits. So this Fronto slew all those that had been seditious, and robbers, who were impeached one by another; but of the young men he chose out the tallest and most beautiful, and reserved them for the triumph; and as for the rest of the multitude that were about seventeen years old, he put them into bonds, and sent them to the * Egyptian mines. Titus also sent a great number into the provinces, as a present to them, that they might be destroyed upon the theatres, by the sword, and by the wild beasts; but those that were under seventeen years of age were sold for slaves. Now during the days wherein Fronto was distinguishing these men, there perished for want of food, eleven thousand; some of which did not taste any food, through the hatred their guards bore to them, and others would not take in any when it was given them. The multitude also was so very great, that they were in want even of corn for their sustenance.

3. Now the number † of those that were carried captive during this whole war was collected to be ninety-seven thousand; as was the number of those who perished during the whole siege eleven hundred thousand, the greater part of whom were indeed of the same nation, [with the citizens of Jerusalem], but not belonging to the city itself: for they were come up from all the country to the feast of unleavened bread, and were on a sudden shut up by an army, which at the very first, occasioned so great a straitness among them, that there came a pestilential destruction upon them, and soon afterward such a famine, as destroyed them more suddenly. And that this city could contain so many people in it, is manifest by that number of them, which was taken under Cestius, who being desirous of informing Nero of the flower of the city, who otherwise was disposed to contemn that nation, entreated the high-priests, if the thing were

* See the several predictions, that the Jews, if they became obstinate in their idolatry and wickedness, should be sent again, or sold into Egypt for their punishment, Deut. xxviii. 68. Jer. xliv. 7. Hos. viii. 12. ix. 3. xi. 4, 5. Esd. xv. 10—13. with Authentic Records, Part I. page 49. 121. and Reland Palæstina, tom. II. page 715.

† The whole multitude of Jews that were destroyed during the entire seven years before this time, in all the countries of, and bordering on Judea, is summed up by Archbishop Usher, from Lipsius, out of Josephus, at the year of Christ 70. and amounts to 1,337,490. Nor could there have been that number of Jews in Jerusalem to be destroyed in this siege, as will be presently set down by Josephus, but that both Jews and Proselytes of Justice were just then come up out of the other countries of Galilee, Samaria, Judea, and Perea, and other remoter regions, to the Passover, in vast numbers, and therein cooped up as in a prison, by the Roman army, as Josephus himself well observes in this and the next section, and as is exactly related elsewhere, B. V. ch. iii. sect. 1. and ch. xiii. sect. 6. Vol. IV.

possible, to take the number of their whole multitude. So these high-priests, upon the coming of that feast which is called the *Passover*, when they slay their sacrifices, from the ninth hour till the eleventh, but so that a company not less than ten * belong to every sacrifice, (for it is not lawful for them to feast singly by themselves); and many of us are twenty in a company. Now the number of sacrifices was two hundred fifty-six thousand and five hundred; which, upon the allowance of no more than ten that feast together, amounts to two millions seven hundred thousand and two hundred persons that were pure and holy, for as to those that have the leprosy, or the gonorrhœa, or women that have their monthly courses, or such as are otherwise polluted, it is not lawful for them to be partakers of this sacrifice; nor indeed for any foreigners neither, who come hither to worship.

4. Now this vast multitude is indeed collected out of remote places, but the entire nation was now shut up by fate, as in prison, and the Roman army encompassed the city when it was crowded with inhabitants. Accordingly the multitude of those that therein perished, exceeded all the destructions that either men or God ever brought upon the world; for, to speak only of what was publicly known, the Romans slew some of them, some they carried captives, and others they made a search for under ground, and when they found where they were, they broke up the ground and slew all they met with. There were also found slain there above two thousand persons, partly by their own hands, and partly by one another, but chiefly destroyed by the famine; but then, the ill savour of the dead bodies was most offensive to those that lighted upon them, insomuch that some were obliged to get away immediately, while others were so greedy of gain, that they would go in among the dead bodies that lay on heaps, and tread upon them; for a great deal of treasure was found in these caverns, and the hope of gain made every way of getting it to be esteemed lawful. Many al-

* This number of a company for one paschal lamb, between ten and twenty, agrees exactly with the number thirteen, at our Saviour's last passover. As to the whole number of the Jews that used to come up to the Passover, and eat of it at Jerusalem, see the note on B. II. ch. xiv. sect. 3. Vol. III. This number ought to be here indeed just ten times the number of the lambs, or just 2,565,000, by Josephus's own reasoning: whereas it is, in his present copies, no less than 2,700,000, which last number is, however, nearest the other number in the place now cited, which is 3,000,000. But what is here chiefly remarkable is this, that no foreign nation ever came thus to destroy the Jews at any of their solemn festivals, from the days of Moses till this time, but came now upon their apostacy from God, and from obedience to him. Nor is it possible, in the nature of things, that in any other nation such vast numbers should be gotten together, and perish in the siege of any one city whatsoever, as now happened in Jerusalem.

so of those that had been put in prison by the tyrants were now brought out; for they did not leave off their barbarous cruelty at the very last: yet did God avenge himself upon them both, in a manner agreeable to justice. As for John, he wanted food together with his brethren, in these caverns, and begged that the Romans would now give him their right hand for his security, which he had often proudly rejected before: but for Simon, he struggled hard with the distress he was in, till he was forced to surrender himself, as we shall relate hereafter; so he was reserved for the triumph, and to be then slain: as was John condemned to perpetual imprisonment. And now the Romans set fire to the extreme parts of the city, and burnt them down, and entirely demolished its walls.

CHAP. X.

That whereas the city of Jerusalem had been five times taken formerly, this was the second time of its desolation. A brief account of its history.

§ 1. AND thus was Jerusalem taken, in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, on the eighth day of the month Gorpieus, [Elul.] It had been taken five * times before, though this was the second time of its desolation; for Shishak, the king of Egypt, and after him Antiochus, and after him Pompey, and after him Sosias and Herod took the city, but still preserved it, but before all these, the king of Babylon conquered it, and made it desolate, one thousand four hundred and sixty-eight years and six months after it was built. But he who first built † it was a potent man among the Canaanites, and is in our tongue called [Melchisedeck], *The Righteous King*, for such he really was; on which account he was [there] the first

* Besides these five here enumerated, who had taken Jerusalem of old, Josephus, upon farther recollection, reckons a sixth, Antiq. B. XII. ch. i. sect. 1. Vol. II. who should have been here inserted in the second place, I mean Ptolemy, the son of Lagus.

† Why the great Bochart should say, De Phoenic. Colon. B. II. ch. iv. That "there are in this clause of Josephus as many mistakes as words," I do by no means understand. Josephus, thought Melchisedek first built, or rather rebuilt and adorned this city, and that it was then called Salem, as Psal. lxxxvi. 2. that it afterwards came to be called Jerusalem: and that Melchisedek, being a priest as well as a king, built to the true God therein a temple, or place for public divine worship and sacrifice; all which things may be very true for ought we know to the contrary. And for the word ιερον or Temple, as if it must needs belong to the Great Temple built by Solomon long afterward, Josephus himself uses ναος for the small tabernacle of Moses, Antiq. B. III. chap. vi. sect. 4. Vol. I. See also Antiq. B. III. ch. vi. sect. 1. as he here presently uses ιερον for a large and splendid synagogue of the Jews at Antioch, B. VII. ch. iii. sect. 8.

priest of God, and first built a temple [there], and called the city Jerusalem, which was formerly called Salem. However, David, the king of the Jews, ejected the Canaanites, and settled his own people therein. It was demolished entirely by the Babylonians, four hundred and seventy-seven years and six months after him. And from king David, who was the first of the Jews who reigned therein, to this destruction under Titus, were one thousand one hundred and seventy-nine years; but from its first building, till this last destruction, were two thousand one hundred seventy-seven years; yet hath not its great antiquity, nor its vast riches, nor the diffusion of its nation over all the habitable earth, nor the greatness of the veneration paid to it on a religious account, been sufficient to preserve it from being destroyed. And thus ended the siege of Jerusalem.

N. B. This is the proper place for such as have closely attended to these latter books of the war, to peruse, and that with equal attention, those distinct and plain predictions of Jesus of Nazareth, in the gospels thereto relating, as compared with their exact completions in Josephus's history; upon which completions, as Dr. Whitby well observes, Annot. on Matth. xxiv. 2. no small part of the evidence for the truth of the Christian religion does depend; and as I have, step by step, compared them together in my *Literal Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies*. The reader is to observe farther, that the true reason why I have so seldom taken notice of those completions in the course of these notes, notwithstanding their being so very remarkable, and frequently so very obvious, is this, that I had entirely prevented myself in that treatise beforehand; to which therefore, I must here, once for all, seriously refer every inquisitive reader.

BOOK VII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ABOUT THREE YEARS.

[FROM THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM BY TITUS, TO THE SEDITION OF THE JEWS AT CYRENE]

CHAP. I.

How the entire city of Jerusalem was demolished, excepting three towers: and how Titus commended his soldiers in a speech made to them, and distributed rewards to them, and then dismissed many of them.

§ 1. Now as soon as the army had no more people to slay or to plunder, because their remained none to be the objects of their fury, (for they would not have spared any, had there remained any other such work to be done), Cæsar gave orders that they should now demolish the entire city and temple, but should leave as many of the towers standing as were of the greatest eminency, that is, Phasælus, and Hippicus, and Mariamne, and so much of the wall as enclosed the city on the west side. This wall was spared, in order to afford a camp for such as were to lie in garrison, as were the towers also spared, in order to demonstrate to posterity what kind of city it was, and how well fortified, which the Roman valour had subdued; but for all the rest of the wall, it was so thoroughly laid even with the ground by those that dug it up to the foundation, that there was left nothing to make those that came thither, believe it had ever been inhabited. This was the end which Jerusalem came to by the madness of those that were for innovations; a city otherwise of great magnificence, and of mighty fame among all mankind.

2. But Cæsar resolved to leave there as a guard, the tenth legion, with certain troops of horsemen, and companies of footmen. So, having entirely completed this war, he was desirous to commend his whole army on account of the great exploits they had performed, and to bestow proper rewards on such as had signalized themselves therein. He had therefore a great tribunal made for him in the midst of the place where he had formerly encamped, and stood upon it with his principal commanders about him, and spake so as to be heard by the whole army in the manner following: "That he returned them abundance of thanks for "their good-will which they had shewed to him: he commend-

" ed them for that ready obedience they had exhibited in this " whole war, which obedience had appeared in the many and " great dangers which they had courageously undergone; as " also, for that courage they had shewed, and had thereby aug- " mented of themselves their country's power, and had made it " evident to all men, that neither the multitude of their enemies, " nor the strength of their places, nor the largeness of their ci- " ties, nor the rash boldness and brutish rage of their antagonists, " were sufficient at any time to get clear of the Roman valour, " although some of them may have fortune in many respects on " their side. He said farther, that it was but reasonable for " them to put an end to this war, now it had lasted so long, for " they had nothing better to wish for when they entered into it: " and that this happened more favourably for them, and more " for their glory, that all the Romans had willingly accepted of " those for their governors, and the curators of their dominions, " whom they had chosen for them, and had sent into their own " country for that purpose, which still continued under the man- " agement of those whom they had pitched on, and were thank- " ful to them for pitching upon them. That accordingly, altho' " he did both admire, and tenderly regard them all, because he " knew that every one of them had gone as cheerfully about " their work, as their abilities and opportunities would give " them leave; yet, he said, that he would immediately bestow " rewards and dignities on those that had fought the most brave- " ly, and with greater force, and had signalized their conduct in " the most glorious manner, and had made his army more fa- " mous by their noble exploits: and that no one who had been " willing to take more pains than another, should miss of a just " retribution for the same: for that he had been exceeding care- " ful about this matter, and that the more, because he had " much rather reward the virtues of his fellow-soldiers than pun- " ish such as had offended."

3. Hereupon Titus ordered those whose business it was, to read the list of all that had performed great exploits in this war, whom he called to him by their names, and commended them before the company, and rejoiced in them in the same manner as a man would have rejoiced in his own exploits. He also put on their heads crowns of gold, and golden ornaments about their necks, and gave them long spears of gold, and ensigns that were made of silver, and removed every one of them to an higher rank; and besides this, he plentifully distributed among them out of the spoils, and the other prey they had taken, silver, and gold, and garments. So when they had all these honours bestowed on them, according to his own appointment made to every one, and he had wished all sorts of happiness to the whole army,

he came down, among the great acclamations which were made to him, and then betook himself to offer thank-offerings [to the gods], and at once sacrificed a vast number of oxen, that stood ready at the altars, and distributed them among the army to feast on. And when he had stayed three days among the principal commanders, and so long feasted with them, he sent away the rest of his army to the several places where they would be every one best situated; but permitted the tenth legion to stay, as a guard at Jerusalem, and did not send them away beyond Euphrates, where they had been before. And as he remembered that the twelfth legion had given way to the Jews, under Cestius their general, he expelled them out of all Syria, for they had lain formerly at Raphanea, and sent them away to a place called *Meletine*, near Euphrates, which is in the limits of Armenia, and Cappadocia, he also thought fit that two of the legions should stay with him, till he should go to Egypt. He then went down with his army to that Cesarea which lay by the sea-side, and there laid up the rest of his spoils in great quantities, and gave order that the captives should be kept there; for the winter season hindered them from sailing into Italy.

CHAP. II.

How Titus exhibited also of shews at Cesarea Philippi. Concerning Simon the tyrant, how he was taken, and reserved for the triumph.

§ 1. Now at the same time that Titus Cæsar lay at the siege of Jerusalem, did Vespasian go on board a merchant ship, and sailed from Alexandria to Rhodes; whence he sailed away in ships with three rows of oars, and as he touched at several cities that lay in his road, he was joyfully received by them all, and so passed over from Ionia into Greece; whence he set sail from Corcyra to the promontory of Iapyx, whence he took his journey by land. But as for Titus, he marched from that Cesarea which lay by the sea-side, and came to that which is named *Cesrea Philippi*, and staid there a considerable time, and exhibited all sorts of shews there. And here a great number of the captives were destroyed, some being thrown to wild beasts, and others in multitudes forced to kill one another, as if they were their enemies. And here it was that Titus was informed of the seizure of Simon the son of Gioras, which was made after the manner following: This Simon during the siege of Jerusalem, was in the upper city, but when the Roman army was gotten within the walls, and were laying the city waste, he then took the most faithful of his friends with him, and among them

some that were stone-cutters, with those iron tools which belonged to their occupation, and as great a quantity of provisions as would suffice them for a long time, and let himself and all them down into a certain subterraneous cavern that was not visible above ground. Now, so far as had been digged of old, they went onward along it without disturbance; but where they met with solid earth, they dug a mine under ground, and this, in hopes that they should be able to proceed as far as to rise from under ground, in a safe place, and by that means escape. But when they came to make the experiment, they were disappointed of their hope; for the miners could make but small progress, and that with difficulty also; insomuch that their provisions, though they distributed them by measure, began to fail them. And now Simon thinking he might be able to astonish and elude the Romans, put on a white frock, and buttoned upon him a purple cloak, and appeared out of the ground in the place where the temple had formerly been. At the first, indeed, those that saw him were greatly astonished, and they stood still where they were; but afterward they came nearer to him, and asked him who he was? Now Simon would not tell them, but bid them call for their captain; and when they ran to call him, Terentius Rufus*, who was left to command the army there, came to Simon, and learned of him the whole truth, and kept him in bonds, and let Cæsar know that he was taken. Thus did God bring this man to be punished for what bitter and savage tyranny he had exercised against his countrymen, by those who were his worst enemies: and this while he was not subdued by violence, but voluntarily delivered himself up to them to be punished, and that on the very same account that he had laid false accusations against many Jews, as if they were falling away to the Romans, and had barbarously slain them; for wicked actions do not escape the divine anger, nor is justice too weak to punish offenders, but in time overtakes those that transgress its laws, and inflicts its punishments upon the wicked in a manner so much more severe, as they expected to escape it on account of their not being punished immediately†. Simon was made sensible of this by falling under the indignation of the Romans. This rise of his out of the ground did also occasion the discovery of a great number of others of the seditious at that time, who had hidden themselves under ground. But for Simon, he was

* This Terentius Rufus, as Reland in part observes here, is the same person whom the Talmudists calls *Turnus Rufus*, of whom they relate, That "he ploughed up Sion as a field, and made Jerusalem become as heaps, and the mountain "of the house as the high place of a forest:" which was long before foretold by the prophet Micah, iii. 12. and quoted from him in the prophecies of Jeremiah, xxvi. 1—8.

† See Eccles. viii. 11.

brought to Cæsar in bonds, when he was come back to that Cesarea which was on the sea side; who gave orders that he should be kept against that triumph which he was to celebrate at Rome upon this occasion.

CHAP. III.

How Titus upon the celebration of his brother's and father's birth days, had many of the Jews slain. Concerning the danger the Jews were in at Antioch, by means of the transgression and impiety of one Antiochus, a Jew.

§ 1. WHILE Titus was at Cesarea, he solemnized the birthday of his brother [Domitian] after a splendid manner; and inflicted a great deal of the punishment intended for the Jews in honour of him: for the number of those that were now slain in fighting with the beasts, and were burnt, and fought with one another, exceeded two thousand five hundred. Yet did all this seem to the Romans, when they were thus destroyed ten thousand several ways, to be a punishment beneath their deserts. After this Cæsar came to Berytus*, which is a city of Phenicia, a Roman colony, and staid there a longer time, and exhibited a still more pompous solemnity about his father's birth-day, both in the magnificence of the shews, and in the other vast expenses he was at in his devices thereto belonging; so that a great multitude of the captives were here destroyed after the same manner as before.

2. It happened also about this time, that the Jews who remained at Antioch were under accusations, and in danger of perishing, from the disturbances that were raised against them by the Antiochians, and this both on account of the slanders spread abroad at this time against them, and on account of what pranks they had played not long before; which I am obliged to describe without fail, though briefly, that I may the better connect my narration of future actions with those that went before.

3. For as the Jewish nation is widely dispersed over all the habitable earth among its inhabitants, so it is very much intermingled with Syria by reason of its neighbourhood, and had the greatest multitudes in Antioch by reason of the largeness of the city, wherein the kings, after Antiochus, had afforded them an habitation with the most undisturbed tranquillity; for though Antiochus, who was called *Epiphanes*, laid Jerusalem waste, and

* This Berytus was certainly a Roman colony, and has coins extant that witness the same, as Hudson and Spanheim informs us. See the note Antiq. B. XVI. ch. xi. sect. 1. Vol. II.

spoiled the temple, yet did those that succeeded him in the kingdom restore all the donations that were made of brass to the Jews of Antioch, and dedicated them to their synagogue, and granted them the enjoyment of equal privileges of citizens with the Greeks themselves; and as the succeeding kings treated them after the same manner, they both multiplied to a great number, and adorned their temple * gloriously by fine ornaments, and with great magnificence, in the use of what had been given them. They also made proselytes of a great many of the Greeks perpetually, and thereby after a sort brought them to b a portion of their own body. But about this time when the present war began, and Vespasian was newly sailed to Syria, and all men had taken up a great hatred against the Jews, then it was that a certain person, whose name was *Antiochus*, being one of the Jewish nation, and greatly respected on account of his father, who was governor † of the Jews at Antioch, came upon the theatre at a time when the people of Antioch were assembled together, and became an informer against his father, and accused both him and others, that they had resolved to burn the whole city in one night; he also delivered up to them some Jews that were foreigners, as partners in their resolutions. When the people heard this, they could not refrain their passion, but commanded that those who were delivered up to them should have fire brought to burn them; who were accordingly all burnt upon the theatre immediately. They did also fall violently upon the multitude of the Jews, as supposing, that by punishing them suddenly they should save their own city. As for Antiochus, he aggravated the rage they were in, and thought to give them a demonstration of his own conversion, and of his hatred of the Jewish customs, by sacrificing after the manner of the Greeks; he persuaded the rest also to compel them to do the same, because they would by that means discover who they were that had plotted against them, since they would not do so; and when the people of Antioch tried the experiment, some few complied, but those that would not do so were slain. As for Antiochus himself, he obtained soldiers from the Roman commander, and became a severe master over his own citizens, not permitting them to rest on the seventh day, but forcing them to do all that

* i. e. Their synagogue. See the note on B. VI. ch. x. sect. 1.

† The Jews at Antioch and Alexandria, the two principal cities in all the east, had allowed them, both by the Macedonians, and afterwards by the Romans, a governor of their own, who was exempt from the jurisdiction of the other civil governors. He was called sometimes barely *governor*, sometimes *ethnarch*, and at Alexandria] *alabarch*, as Dr. Hudson takes notice on this place out of Fuller's Miscellanies. They had the like governor or governors allowed them at Babylon under their captivity there, as the history of Susanna implies.

they usually did on other days; and to that degree of distress did he reduce them in this matter, that the rest of the seventh day was dissolved not only at Antioch, but the same thing which took thence its rise, was done in other cities also, in like manner, for some small time.

4. Now, after these misfortunes had happened to the Jews at Antioch, a second calamity befel them, the description of which when we were going about, we premised in the account foregoing: for upon this accident, whereby the four-square market-place was burnt down, as well as the archives, and the place where the public records were preserved, and the royal palaces (and it was not without difficulty that the fire was then put a stop to, which was likely, by the fury wherewith it was carried along, to have gone over the whole city), Antiochus accused the Jews as the occasion of all the mischief that was done. Now this induced the people of Antioch, who were now under the immediate persuasion, by reason of the disorder they were in, that this calumny was true, and would have been under the same persuasion, even though they had not borne an ill-will at the Jews before, to believe this man's accusation, especially when they considered what had been done before, and this to such a degree, that they all fell violently upon those that were accused, and this, like madmen, in a very furious rage also, even as if they had seen the Jews in a manner setting fire themselves to the city: nor was it without difficulty that one Cneus Collegas, the legate could prevail with them to permit the affairs to be laid before Cæsar; for as to Cecennius Petus, the president of Syria, Vespasian had already sent him away; and so it happened, that he was not yet come back thither. But when Collegas had made a careful inquiry into the matter, he found out the truth, and that not one of those Jews that were accused by Antiochus had any hand in it, but that all was done by some vile persons greatly in debt, who supposed that if they could once set fire to the market-place, and burn the public records, they should have no farther demands made upon them. So the Jews were under great disorder and terror, in the uncertain expectation of what would be the upshot of those accusations against them.

CHAP. IV.

How Vespasian was received at Rome, as also how the Germans revolted from the Romans, but were subdued. That the Samaritans over-ran Mysia, but were compelled to return to their own country again.

§ 1. AND now Titus Cæsar, upon the news that was brought him concerning his father, that his coming was much desired

by all the Italian cities, and that Rome especially received him with great alacrity and splendour, betook himself to rejoicing and pleasures to a great degree, as now freed from the solicitude he had been under, after the most agreeable manner. For all men that were in Italy shewed their respects to him in their minds before he came thither, as if he were already come, as esteeming the very expectation they had of him to be his real presence, on account of the great desires they had to see him, and because the good-will they bore him was entirely free and unconstrained: for it was a desirable thing to the senate, who well remembered the calamities they had undergone in the late changes of their governors, to receive a governor who was adorned with the gravity of old age, and with the highest skill in the actions of war, whose advancement would be, as they knew, for nothing else but for the preservation of those that were to be governed. Moreover, the people had been so harassed by their civil miseries, that they were still more earnest for his coming immediately, as supposing they should then be firmly delivered from their calamities, and believed they should then recover their secure tranquillity and prosperity: and for the soldiery, they had the principal regard to him, for they were chiefly apprized of his great exploits in war; and since they had experienced the want of skill and want of courage in other commanders, they were very desirous to be freed from that great shame they had undergone by their means, and heartily to receive such a prince as might be a security and an ornament to them. And as this good-will to Vespasian was universal, those that enjoyed any remarkable dignities could not have patience enough to stay in Rome, but made haste to meet him at a very great distance from it: nay, indeed, none of the rest could endure the delay of seeing him, but did all pour out of the city in such crowds, and were so universally possessed with the opinion that it was easier and better for them to go out than to stay there, that this was the very first time that the city joyfully perceived itself almost empty of its citizens; for those that staid within were fewer than those that went out. But as soon as the news was come that he was hard by, and those that had met him at first related with what good humour he received every one that came to him, then it was that the whole multitude that had remained in the city, with their wives and children, came into the road and waited for him there; and for those whom he passed by, they made all sorts of acclamations on account of the joy they had to see him, and the pleasantness of his countenance, and styled him *their benefactor* and *saviour*, and the only person who was worthy to be ruler of the city of Rome. And now the city was like a temple, full of garlands

and sweet odours; nor was it easy for him to come to the royal palace, for the multitude of the people that stood about him, where yet at last he performed his sacrifices of thanksgiving to his household gods, for his safe return to the city. The multitude did also betake themselves to feasting; which feasts and drink-offerings they celebrated by their tribes, and their families, and their neighbourhoods, and still prayed God to grant that Vespasian, his sons, and all their posterity might continue in the Roman government for a very long time, and that his dominion might be preserved from all opposition. And this was the manner in which Rome so joyfully received Vespasian, and thence grew immediately into a state of great prosperity.

2. But before this time, and while Vespasian was about Alexandria, and Titus was lying at the siege of Jerusalem, a great multitude of the Germans were in commotion, and tended to rebellion; and as the Gauls in their neighbourhood joined with them, they conspired together, and had thereby great hopes of success, and that they should free themselves from the dominion of the Romans. The motives that induced the Germans to this attempt for a revolt, and for beginning the war, were these: In the first place, the nature [of the people], which was destitute of just reasonings, and ready to throw themselves rashly into danger, upon small hopes; in the next place, the hatred they bore to those that were their governors, while their nation had never been conscious of subjection to any but to the Romans, and that by compulsion only. Besides these motives, it was the opportunity that now offered itself, which above all the rest prevailed with them so to do; for when they saw the Roman government in a great internal disorder, by the continual changes of its rulers, and understood that every part of the habitable earth under them was in an unsettled and tottering condition, they thought this was the best opportunity that could afford itself for themselves to make a sedition, when the state of the Romans was so ill. Classicus * and also Vitellius †, two of their com-

* This Classicus, and Civilis, and Cerealis, are names well known in Tacitus, the two former as moving sedition against the Romans, and the last as sent to repress them by Vespasian, just as they are here described in Josephus; which is the case also of Fonteius Agrippa and Rubrius Gallus in sect. 3. But as to the very favourable account presently given of Domitian, particularly as to his designs in this his Gallic and German expedition, it is not a little contrary to that in Suetonius, Vesp. sect. 7. Nor are the reasons unobvious that might occasion this great diversity: Domitian was one of Josephus' patrons, and when he published these books of the Jewish war, was very young, and had hardly begun those wicked practices, which rendered him so infamous afterward; while Suetonius seems to have been too young, and too low in life to receive any remarkable favours from him; as Domitian was certainly very lewd and cruel, and generally hated when Suetonius wrote about him.

† Civilis. *Tacit.*

manders, puffed them up with such hopes. These had for a long time been openly desirous of such an innovation, and were induced by the present opportunity to venture upon the declaration of their sentiments: the multitude was also ready, and when these men told them of what they intended to attempt, that news was gladly received by them. So when a great part of the Germans had agreed to rebel, and the rest were no better disposed, Vespasian, as guided by divine Providence, sent letters to Petilius Cerealis, who had formerly had the command of Germany, whereby he declared him to have the dignity of consul, and commanded him to take upon him the government of Britain; so he went whither he was ordered to go, and when he was informed of the revolt of the Germans, he fell upon them as soon as they were gotten together, and put his army in battle-array and slew a great multitude of them in the fight, and forced them to leave off their madness, and to grow wiser; nay, had he not fallen thus suddenly upon them on the place, it had not been long ere they would however have been brought to punishment; for as soon as ever the news of their revolt was come to Rome, and Cæsar Domitian was made acquainted with it, he made no delay even at this his age, when he was exceeding young, but undertook this weighty affair. He had a courageous mind from his father, and had made greater improvements than belonged to such an age, accordingly he marched against the barbarians immediately; whereupon their hearts failed them at the very rumour of his approach, and they submitted themselves to him with fear, and thought it an happy thing that they were brought under their old yoke again without suffering any farther mischiefs. When therefore Domitian had settled all the affairs of Gaul in such good order, that it would not be easily put into disorder any more, he returned to Rome with honour and glory, as having performed such exploits as were above his own age, but worthy of so great a father.

3. At the very same time with the forementioned revolt of the Germans, did the bold attempt of the Scythians against the Romans occur: for those Scythians who are called *Samritans*, being a very numerous people, transported themselves over the Danube into Mysia, without being perceived; after which, by their violence, and entirely unexpected assault, they slew a great many of the Romans that guarded the frontiers; and as the consular legate Fonteius Agrippa came to meet them, and fought courageously against them, he was slain by them. They then over-ran all the region that had been subject to him, tearing and rending every thing that fell in their way. But when Vespasian was informed of what had happened, and how Mysia was laid waste, he sent away Rubrius Gallus to punish these Samritans;

by whose means many of them perished in the battles he fought against them, and that part which escaped fled with fear to their own country. So when this general had but an end to the war, he provided for the future security of the country also; for he placed more and more numerous garrisons in the place, till he made it altogether impossible for the barbarians to pass over the river any more. And thus had this war in Mysia a sudden conclusion.

CHAP. V.

Concerning the Sabbatic river which Titus saw as he was journeying through Syria; and how the people of Antioch came with a petition to Titus against the Jews, but were rejected by him; as also concerning Titus and Vespasian's triumph.

§ 1. Now Titus Cæsar tarried some time at Berytus, as we told you before. He thence removed, and exhibited magnificent shews in all those cities of Syria through which he went, and made use of the captive Jews as public instances of the destruction of that nation. He then saw a river as he went along, of such a nature as deserves to be recorded in history: it runs in the middle between Arcea, belonging to Agrippa's kingdom, and Raphanea. It hath somewhat very peculiar in it; for when it runs, its current is strong, and has plenty of water; after which its springs fail for six days together, and leave its channel dry, as any one may see; after which days it runs on the seventh day as it did before, and as though it had undergone no change at all; it hath also been observed to keep this order perpetually and exactly: whence it is that they call it *the Sabbatic river**, that name being taken from the sacred seventh day among the Jews.

2. But when the people of Antioch were informed that Titus was approaching, they were so glad at it, that they could not keep within their walls, but hasted away to give him the meeting; nay, they proceeded as far as thirty furlongs, and more, with that intention. These were not the men only, but

* Since in these latter ages, this Sabbatic river, once so famous, which, by Josephus' account here, ran every seventh day, and rested on six, but according to Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxxi. 11. ran perpetually on six days, and rested every seventh, (though it no way appears by either of their accounts that the seventh day of this river was the Jewish seventh day or Sabbath), is quite vanished, I shall add no more about it; only see Dr. Hudson's note. In Varenius' Geography, I. 17, the reader will find several instances of such periodical fountains and rivers, though none of their periods were just that of a week, as of old this appears to have been.

a multitude of women also with their children, did the same; and when they saw him coming up to them, they stood on both sides of the way, and stretched out their right hands, saluting him, and making all sorts of acclamations to him, and turned back together with him. They also, among all the acclamations they made to him, besought him all the way they went, to eject the Jews out of their city; yet did not Titus at all yield to this their petition, but gave them the bare hearing of it quietly. However, the Jews were in a great deal of terrible fear under the uncertainty they were in what his opinion was, and what he would do to them. For Titus did not stay at Antioch, but continued his progress immediately to Zeugma, which lies upon the Euphrates, whither came to him messengers from Vologesus king of Parthia, and brought him a crown of gold upon the victory he gained over the Jews; which he accepted of, and feasted the king's messengers, and then came back to Antioch. And when the senate and people of Antioch earnestly entreated him to come upon their theatre, where the whole multitude were assembled, and expected him, he complied with great humanity; but when they pressed him with much earnestness, and continually begged of him, that he would eject the Jews out of their city, he gave them this very pertinent answer: "How can this be done, since that country of theirs, "whither the Jews must be obliged then to retire is destroyed, "and no place will receive them besides." Whereupon the people of Antioch, when they had failed of success in this their first request, made him a second; for they desired that he would order those tables of brass to be removed, on which the Jews' privileges were engraven. However, Titus would not grant that neither, but permitted the Jews of Antioch to continue to enjoy the very same privileges in that city which they had before, and then departed for Egypt; and as he came to Jerusalem in his progress, and compared the melancholy condition, he saw it then in, with the ancient glory of the city, and called to mind the greatness of its present ruins, as well as its ancient splendour, he could not but pity the destruction of the city, so far was he from boasting, that so great and goodly a city as that was, had been by him taken by force: nay, he frequently cursed those that had been the authors of their revolt, and had brought such a punishment upon the city; insomuch, that it openly appeared, that he did not desire that such a calamity as this punishment of theirs amounted to, should be a demonstration of his courage. Yet was there no small quantity of the riches that had been in that city still found among its ruins, a great deal of which the Romans dug up; but the greatest part was discovered by those who were captives, and so they carried

it away; I mean the gold and silver, and the rest of that most precious furniture which the Jews had, and which the owners had treasured up under ground, against the uncertain fortunes of war.

3. So Titus took the journey he intended into Egypt, and passed over the desert very suddenly, and came to Alexandria, and took up a resolution to go to Rome by sea. And as he was accompanied by two legions, he sent each of them again to the places whence they had before come: the fifth he sent to Mysia, and the fifteenth to Panonia: as for the leaders of the captives, Simon and John, with the other seven hundred men, whom he had selected out of the rest as being eminently tall and handsome of body, he gave order that they should be soon carried to Italy, as resolving to produce them in his triumph. So when he had had a prosperous voyage to his mind, the city of Rome behaved itself in his reception, and their meeting him at a distance, as it did in the case of his father. But what made the most splendid appearance in Titus's opinion, was, when his father met him, and received him; but still the multitude of the citizens conceived the greatest joy, when they saw them all three * together, as they did at this time: nor were many days overpast, when they determined to have but one triumph, that should be common to both of them, on account of the glorious exploits they had performed, although the senate had decreed each of them a separate triumph by himself. So when notice had been given before-hand, of the day appointed for this pompous solemnity to be made, on account of their victories, not one of the immense multitude was left in the city, but every body went out so far as to gain only a station where they might stand, and left only such a passage as was necessary for those that were to be seen to go along it.

4. Now all the soldiery marched out before-hand by companies, and in their several ranks, under their several commanders, in the night time, and were about the gates, not of the upper palaces, but those near the temple of Isis; for there it was that the emperors had rested the foregoing night. And as soon as ever it was day, Vespasian and Titus came out crowned with laurel, and clothed in those ancient purple habits which were proper to their family, and then went as far as Octavian's walks; for there it was that the senate, and the principal rulers, and those that had been recorded as of the equestrian order, waited for them. Now a tribunal had been erected before the cloisters, and ivory chairs had been set upon it, when they came and sat down upon them. Whereupon the soldiery made an acclamation of joy to them immediately, and all gave them attestations of

* Vespasian and his two sons, Titus and Domitian.

their valour; while they were themselves without their arms, and only in their silken garments, and crowned with laurel; then Vespasian accepted of these shouts of theirs; but while they were still disposed to go on in such acclamations, he gave them a signal of silence. And when every body entirely held their peace he stood up, and covering the greatest part of his head with his cloak, he put up the accustomed solemn prayers; the like prayers did Titus put up also; after which prayers Vespasian made a short speech to all the people, and then sent away the soldiers to a dinner prepared for them by the emperors. Then did he retire to that gate which was called the gate of the pomp, because pompous shews do always go through that gate; there it was that they tasted some food, and when they had put on their triumphal garments, and had offered sacrifices to the gods that were placed at the gate, they sent the triumph forward, and marched through the theatres, that they might be the more easily seen by the multitudes.

5. Now it is impossible to describe the multitude of the shews as they deserve, and the magnificence of them all; such indeed as a man could not easily think of, as performed, either by the labour of workmen, or the variety of riches, or the rarities of nature: for almost all such curiosities as the most happy men ever get by piece-meal, were here one heaped on another, and those both admirable and costly in their nature: and all brought together on that day, demonstrated the vastness of the dominions of the Romans; for there was here to be seen a mighty quantity of silver, and gold, and ivory; contrived into all sorts of things, and did not appear as carried along in pompous shew only, but, as a man may say, running along like a river. Some parts were composed of the rarest purple hangings, and so carried along, and others accurately represented to the life what was embroidered by the arts of the Babylonians. There were also precious stones, that were transparent, some set in crowns of gold, and some in other ouches, as the workmen pleased; and of these such a vast number were brought, that we could not but thence learn how vainly we imagined any of them to be rarities. The images of the gods were also carried, being as well wonderful for their largeness, as made very artificially, and with great skill of the workmen: nor were any of these images of any other than very costly materials, and many species of animals were brought, every one in their own natural ornaments. The men also who brought every one of these shews were great multitudes, and adorned with purple garments, all over interwoven with gold; those that were chosen for carrying these pompous shews, having also about them such magnificent ornaments, as were both extraordinary and surprising. Besides these, one might

see that even the great number of the captives was not unadorned, while the variety that was in their garments, and their fine texture, concealed from the sight the deformity of their bodies. But what afforded the greatest surprise of all, was the structure of the pageants that were borne along; for indeed he that met them could not but be afraid that the bearers would not be able firmly enough to support them, such was their magnitude: for many of them were so made, that they were on three or even four stories one above another. The magnificence also of their structure afforded one both pleasure and surprise: for upon many of them were laid carpets of gold. There was also wrought gold, and ivory fastened about them all; and many resemblances of the war, and those in several ways, and variety of contrivances, affording a most lively portraiture of itself. For there was to be seen an happy country laid waste, and entire squadrons of enemies slain; while some of them ran away, and some were carried into captivity, with walls of great altitude and magnitude overthrown, and ruined by machines, with the strongest fortifications taken, and the walls of most populous cities upon the tops of hills seized on, and an army pouring itself within the walls; as also every place full of slaughter, and supplications of the enemies, when they were no longer able to lift up their hands in way of opposition. Fire also sent upon temples was here represented, and houses overthrown, and falling upon their owners: rivers also, after they came out of a large and melancholy desert, ran down, not into a land cultivated, nor as drink for men, or for cattle, but through a land still on fire upon every side; for the Jews related that such a thing they had undergone during this war. Now the workmanship of these representations was so magnificent and lively in the construction of the things, that it exhibited what had been done to such as did not see it, as if they had been there really present. On the top of every one of these pageants was placed the commander of the city that was taken, and the manner wherein he was taken. Moreover, there followed those pageants a great number of ships; and for the other spoils they were carried in great plenty. But for those * that were taken in the temple of Je-

* See the representations of these Jewish vessels as they still stand on Titus's triumphal arch at Rome, in Reland's very curious book *de Spoliis Templi* throughout. But what things are chiefly to be noted are these: (1.) That Josephus says the candlestick here carried in this triumph was not thoroughly like that which was used in the temple, which appears in the number of the little knops and flowers in that on the triumphal arch, not well agreeing with Moses's description, Exod. xxv. 31—36. (2.) The smallness of the branches in Josephus compared with the thickness of those on the arch. (3.) That the Law or Pentateuch does not appear on that arch

rusalem, they made the greatest figure of them all; that is the golden table of the weight of many talents: the candlestick also, that was made of gold, though its construction were now changed from that which we made use of: for its middle shaft was fixed upon a basis, and the small branches were produced out of it to a great length, having the likeness of a trident in their position, and had every one a socket made of brass for a lamp at the tops of them. These lamps were in number seven, and represented the dignity of the number seven, among the Jews; and the last of all the spoils, was carried the law of the Jews. After these spoils passed by a great many men, carrying the images of victory, whose structure was entirely either of ivory, or of gold. After which Vespasian marched in the first place, and Titus followed him; Domitian also rode along with them, and made a glorious appearance, and rode on an horse that was worthy of admiration.

6. Now the last part of this pompous shew was at the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, whither when they were come, they stood still: for it was the Romans ancient custom to stay till somebody brought the news, that the general of the enemy was slain. This general was Simon, the son of Gioras, who had then been led in this triumph among the captives; a rope had also been put upon his head, and he had been drawn unto a proper place in the forum, and had withal been tormented by those that drew him along: and the law of the Romans required, that malefactors condemned to die, should be slain there. Accordingly when it was related that there was an end of him, and all the people had set up a shout for joy, they then began to offer those sacrifices which they had consecrated, in the prayers used in such solemnities, which when they had finished, they went away to the palace. And as for some of the spectators, the emperors entertained them at their own feast; and for all the rest there were noble preparations made for their feasting at home: for this was a festival day to the city of Rome, as celebrated for the victory obtained by their army over their enemies, for the end that was now put to their civil miseries, and for the commencement of their hopes of future prosperity and happiness.

7. After these triumphs were over, and after the affairs of the Romans were settled on the surest foundations, Vespasian resolved to build a temple to Peace, which was finished in so short a time, and in so glorious a manner, as was beyond all human expectation and opinion: for he having now by Providence a vast

at all, though Josephus, an eye witness, assures us that it was carried in this procession. All which things deserve the consideration of the inquisitive reader.

quantity of wealth, besides what he had formerly gained in his other exploits, he had this temple adorned with pictures, and statues; for in this temple was collected and deposited all such rarities as men aforetime used to wander all over the habitable world to see; when they had a desire to see one of them after another: he also laid up therein those golden vessels and instruments that were taken out of the Jewish temple, as ensigns of his glory. But still he gave order that they should lay up their law, and the purple veils of the holy place in the royal palace itself, and keep them their.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning Macherus, and how Lucilius Bassus took that citadel, and other places.

§ 1. Now Lucilius Bassus was sent as legate into Judea, and there he received the army from Cerealis Vitellianus, and took that citadel which was in Herodium, together with the garrison that was in it: after which he got together all the soldiery that was there, (which was a large body, but dispersed into several parties), with the tenth legion, and resolved to make war upon Macherus; for it was highly necessary that this citadel should be demolished, lest it might be a means of drawing away many into a rebellion, by reason of its strength: for the nature of the place was very capable of affording the surest hopes of safety to those that possessed it, as well as delay and fear to those that should attack it; for what was walled in was itself a very rocky hill, elevated to a very great height, which circumstance alone made it very hard to be subdued. It was also so contrived by nature, that it could not be easily ascended; for it is, as it were, ditched about with such vallies on all sides, and to such a depth, that the eye cannot reach their bottoms, and such as are not easily to be passed over, and even such as it is impossible to fill up with earth. For that valley which cuts it on the west, extends to threescore furlongs, and did not end till it came to the lake Asphaltitis; on the same side it was also that Macherus had the tallest top of its hill elevated above the rest. But then for the valleys that lay on the north and south sides, although they be not so large as that already described, yet it is in like manner an impracticable thing to think of getting over them; and for the valley that lies on the east side, its depth is found to be no less than an hundred cubits. It extends as far as a mountain that lies over against Macherus, with which it is bounded.

2. Now when Alexander [Janneus], the king of the Jews

observed the nature of this place, he was the first who built a citadel here, which afterwards was demolished by Gabinius, when he made war against Aristobulus. But when Herod came to be king, he thought the place to be worthy of the utmost regard, and of being built upon the firmest manner, and this especially because it lay so near to Arabia: for it is seated in a convenient place on that account, and had a prospect towards that country; he therefore surrounded a large space of ground with walls, and towers, and built a city there, out of which city there was a way that led up to the very citadel itself on the top of the mountain: nay, more than this, he built a wall round that top of the hill, and erected towers at the corners, of an hundred and sixty cubits high; in the middle of which place he built a palace, after a magnificent manner, wherein were large and beautiful edifices. He also made a great many reservoirs for the reception of water, that there might be plenty of it ready for all uses, and those in the properest places that were afforded him there. Thus did he, as it were contend with the nature of the place, that he might exceed its natural strength and security, which yet itself rendered it hard to be taken, by those fortifications which were made by the hands of men. Moreover he put a large quantity of darts, and other machines of war into it, and contrived to get every thing thither that might any way contribute to its inhabitants security, under the longest siege possible.

3. Now within this place there grew a sort of rue *, that deserves our wonder on account of its largeness, for it was no way inferior to any fig-tree whatsoever, either in height or in thickness; and the report is, that it had lasted ever since the times of Herod, and would probably have lasted much longer had it not been cut down by those Jews who took possession of the place afterward. But still in that valley which encompasses the city on the north side, there is a certain place called Baaras, which produces a root † of the same name with itself; its colour is like that of flame, and towards the evening it sends out a certain ray like lightning; it is not easily taken by such as would do it, but recedes from their hands, nor will yield itself to be taken quietly, until either the urine of a woman, or the men-

* Spanheim observes here, that in Græcia Major and Sicily they had rue prodigiously great and durable, like this rue at Macherus.

† This strange account of the place and root Baaras, seems to have been taken from the magicians, and the root to have been made use of in the days of Josephus, in that superstitious way of casting out demons, supposed by him to have been derived from king Solomon; of which we have already seen he had a great opinion, Antiq. B. VIII. ch. ii. sect. 5. Vol. 1. We also hence may learn the true notions Josephus had of demons and demoniacs, exactly like that of Jews and Christians in the New Testament, and of the first four centuries. See Antiq. B. VI. ch. viii. sect. 2. B. XI. ch. ii. sect. 5. Vol. II.

strual blood be poured upon it; nay, even then it is certain death to those that touch it, unless any one take and hang the root itself down from his hand, and so carry it away. It may also be taken another way, without danger, which is this: They dig a trench quite round about it, till the hidden part of the root be very small, they then tie a dog to it, and when the dog tries hard to follow him that tied him, this root is easily plucked up; but the dog dies immediately, as if it were instead of the man that would take the plant away; nor after this need any one be afraid of taking it into their hands. Yet after all this pains of getting, it is only valuable on account of one virtue it hath, that if it be only brought to the sick persons, it quickly drives away those called demons, which are no other than the spirits of the wicked, that enter into men that are alive, and kill them, unless they can obtain some help against them. Here are also fountains of hot water, that flow out of this place, which have a very different taste one from the other: for some of them are bitter, and others of them are plainly sweet. Here are also many eruptions of cold waters, and this not only in the places that lie lower, and have their fountains, near one another, but what is still more wonderful, here is to be seen a certain cave hard by, whose cavity is not deep, but it is covered over by a rock that is prominent: above this rock there stands up two [hills or] breasts, as it were, but a little distant one from another, the one of which sends out a fountain that is very cold, and the other sends out one that is very hot, which waters, when they are mingled together, compose a most pleasant bath; they are medicinal indeed for other maladies, but especially good for strengthening the nerves. This place has in it also mines of sulphur and allum.

4. Now when Bassus had taken a full view of this place, he resolved to besiege it, by filling up the valley that lay on the east side; so he fell hard to work, and took great pains to raise his banks as soon as possible, and by that means to render the siege easy. As for the Jews that were caught in this place, they separated themselves from the strangers that were with them, and they forced those strangers, as an otherwise useless multitude, to stay in the lower part of the city, and undergo the principal dangers, while they themselves seized on the upper citadel, and held it, and this both on account of its strength, and to provide for their own safety. They also supposed they might obtain their pardon, in case they should [at last] surrender the citadel. However, they were willing to make a trial in the first place, whether the hopes they had of avoiding a siege would come to any thing, with which intention they made sallies every day, and fought with those that met them, in which conflicts

they were many of them slain, as they therein slew many of the Romans. But still it was the opportunities that presented themselves, which chiefly gained both sides their victories; these were gained by the Jews, when they fell upon the Romans as they were off their guard; but by the Romans when upon the other's sallies against their banks they foresaw their coming, and were upon their guard when they received them. But the conclusion of this siege did not depend upon these bickerings; but a certain surprising accident, relating to what was done in this siege, forced the Jews to surrender the citadel. There was a certain young man among the besieged, of great boldness, and very active of his hand, his name was Eleazar, he greatly signalized himself in those sallies, and encouraged the Jews to go out in great numbers, in order to hinder the raising of the banks, and did the Romans a vast deal of mischief when they came to fighting; he so managed matters, that those who sallied out made their attacks easily, and returned back without danger, and this by still bringing up the rear himself. Now it happened that on a certain time, when the fight was over, and both sides were parted, and retired home, he, in way of contempt of the enemy, and thinking that none of them would begin the fight again, at that time, staid without the gates, and talked with those that were upon the wall, and his mind was wholly intent upon what they said. Now a certain person belonging to the Roman camp, whose name was Rufus, by birth an Egyptian, ran upon him suddenly, when nobody expected such a thing, and carried him off, with his armour itself; while in the mean time those that saw it from the wall were under such an amazement, that Rufus prevented their assistance, and carried Eleazar to the Roman camp. So the general of the Romans ordered that he should be taken up naked, set before the city to be seen, and sorely whipped before their eyes. Upon this sad accident that befel the young man, the Jews were terribly confounded, and the city, with one voice, sorely lamented him, and the mourning proved greater than could well be supposed upon the calamity of a single person. When Bassus perceived that, he began to think of using a stratagem against the enemy, and was desirous to aggravate their grief, in order to prevail with them to surrender the city for the preservation of that man. Nor did he fail of his hope; for he commanded them to set up a cross, as if he were just going to hang Eleazar upon it immediately; the sight of this occasioned a sore grief among those that were in the citadel, and they groaned vehemently, and cried out, that they could not bear to see him thus destroyed. Whereupon Eleazar besought them not to disregard him, now he was going to suffer a most miserable death, and exhort-

ed them to save themselves, by yielding to the Roman power and good fortune, since all other people were now conquered by them. These men were greatly moved with what he said, there being also many within the city that interceded for him, because he was of an eminent and very numerous family; so they now yielded to their passion of commiseration, contrary to the usual custom. Accordingly they sent out immediately certain messengers, and treated with the Romans, in order to a surrender of the citadel to them, and desired that they might be permitted to go away, and take Eleazar along with them. Then did the Romans and their general accept of these terms, while the multitude of strangers that were in the lower part of the city, hearing of the agreement that was made by the Jews for themselves alone, were resolved to fly away privately in the night time; but as soon as they had opened their gates, those that had come to terms with Bassus told him of it; whether it were that they envied the others deliverance, or whether it were done out of fear, least an occasion should be taken against them upon their escape, is uncertain. The most courageous, therefore, of those men that went out prevented the enemy, and got away, and fled for it; but for those men that were caught within, they were slain, to the number of one thousand seven hundred, as were the women and the children made slaves. But as Bassus thought he must perform the covenant he had made with those that had surrendered the citadel, he let them go, and restored Eleazar to them.

5. When Bassus had settled these affairs, he marched hastily to the forest of Jarden as it is called; for he had heard that a great many of those that had fled from Jerusalem and Macherus formerly, were there gotten together. When he was therefore come to the place, and understood that the former news was no mistake, he, in the first place, surrounded the whole place with his horsemen, that such of the Jews as had boldness enough to try to break through, might have no way possible for escaping, by reason of the situation of their horsemen; and for the footmen, he ordered them to cut down the trees that were in the wood whither they were fled. So the Jews were under a necessity of performing some glorious exploit, and of greatly exposing themselves in a battle, since they might perhaps thereby escape. So they made a general attack, and with a great shout fell upon those that surrounded them, who received them with great courage; and so while the one side fought desperately, and the other would not yield, the fight was prolonged on that account. But the event of the battle did not answer the expectation of the assailants; for so it happened, that no more than twelve fell on the Roman side, with a few that were wounded; but not one

of the Jews escaped out of this battle, but they were all killed, being in the whole not fewer in number than three thousand, together with Judas, the son of Jairus, their general, concerning whom we have before spoken, that he had been a captain of a certain band at the siege of Jerusalem, and by going down into a certain vault under ground, had privately made his escape.

6. About the same time it was that Cæsar sent a letter to Bassus, and to Tiberias Maximus, who was the procurator [of Judea], and gave orders that all Judea should be exposed to sale*: for he did not found any city there, but reserved the country for himself. However, he assigned a place for eight hundred men only, whom he had dismissed from his army, which he gave them for their habitation; it is called Emmaus†, and is distant from Jerusalem threescore furlongs. He also laid a tribute upon the Jews wheresoever they were, and enjoined every one of them to bring two drachmæ every year into the capitol, as they used to pay the same to the temple at Jerusalem. And this was the state of the Jewish affairs at this time.

CHAP. VII.

Concerning the calamity that befel Antiochus king of Commagene. As also concerning the Alans, and what great mischiefs they did to the Medes and Armenians.

§ 1. AND now, in the fourth year of the reign of Vespasian, it came to pass, that Antiochus, the king of Commagene, with all his family, fell into very great calamities. The occasion was this: Cesennius Petus, who was president of Syria at this time, whether it were done out of regard to truth, or whether out of hatred to Antiochus (for which was the real motive was never thoroughly discovered), sent an epistle to Cæsar, and therein told him that "Antiochus, with his son Epiphanes,

* It is very remarkable that Titus did not people this now desolate country of Judea, but ordered it to be all sold; nor indeed is it properly peopled at this day, but lies ready for its old inhabitants the Jews, at their future restoration. See Literal Accomplishment of Prophecies, page 77.

† That the city Emmaus or Ammaus in Josephus and others, which was the place of the government of Julius Africanus, in the beginning of the third century, and which he then procured to be rebuilt, and after which rebuilding it was called *Nicopolis*, is entirely different from that Emmaus which is mentioned by St. Luke xxiv. 18. see Reland's Palestina, lib. II. page 429, and under the name Ammaus also. But he justly thinks that that in St. Luke may well be the same with this Ammaus before us, especially since the Greek copies here usually make it 60 furlongs distant from Jerusalem, as does St. Luke, though the Latin copies say only 30. The place also allotted for these 800 soldiers, as for a Roman garrison, in this place, would most naturally be not so remote from Jerusalem, as was the other Emmaus or Nicopolis.

"had resolved to rebel against the Romans, and had made a "league with the king of Parthia to that purpose; that it was "therefore fit to prevent them, lest they prevent us, and be- "gin such a war as may cause a general disturbance in the Ro- "man empire." Now Cæsar was disposed to take some care about the matter, since this discovery was made; for the neighbourhood of the kingdoms made this affair worthy of greater regard; for Samosata, the capital of Commagene, lies upon Euphrates, and upon any such design could afford an easy passage over it to the Parthians, and could also afford them a secure reception. Petus was accordingly believed, and had authority given him of doing what he should think proper in the case; so he set about it without delay, and fell upon Commagene before Antiochus and his people had the least expectation of his coming: he had with him the tenth legion, as also some cohorts and troops of horsemen. These kings also came to his assistance, Aristobulus, king of the country called Chalcidene, and Sohemus, who was called king of Emesa. Nor was there any opposition made to his forces when they entered the kingdom; for no one of that country would so much as lift up his hand against them. When Antiochus heard this unexpected news, he could not think in the least of making war with the Romans, but determined to leave his whole kingdom in the state wherein it now was, and to retire privately, with his wife and children, as thinking thereby to demonstrate himself to the Romans to be innocent as to the accusation laid against him. So he went away from that city as far as an hundred and twenty furlongs, into a plain, and there pitched his tents.

2. Petus then sent some of his men to seize upon Samosata, and by their means took possession of that city, while he went himself to attack Antiochus with the rest of his army. However, the king was not prevailed upon by the distress he was in to do any thing in the way of war against the Romans, but bemoaned his own hard fate, and endured with patience what he was not able to prevent. But his sons, who were young, and unexperienced in war, but of strong bodies, were not easily induced to bear this calamity without fighting. Epiphanes, therefore, and Callinicus, betook themselves to military force: and as the battle was a sore one, and lasted all the day long, they shewed their own valour in a remarkable manner, and nothing but the approach of night put a period thereto, and that without any diminution of their forces: yet would not Antiochus, upon this conclusion of the fight, continue there by any means, but took his wife and his daughters, and fled away with them to Cilicia, and by so doing quite discouraged the minds of his own soldiers. Accordingly, they revolted, and went over to the Ro-

mans, out of the despair they were in of his keeping the kingdom; and his case was looked upon by all as quite desperate. It was therefore necessary that Epiphanes and his soldiers should get clear of their enemies before they became entirely destitute of any confederates: nor were there any more than ten horsemen with him, who passed with him over Euphrates, whence they went undisturbed to Vologesus, the king of Parthia, where they were not disregarded as fugitives, but had the same respect paid them as if they had retained their ancient prosperity.

3. Now when Antiochus was come to Tarsus in Cilicia, Petus ordered a centurion to go to him, and send him in bonds to Rome. However, Vespasian could not endure to have a king brought him in that manner, but thought it fit rather to have a regard to the ancient friendship that had been between them, than to preserve an inexorable anger upon pretence of this war. Accordingly, he gave orders that they should take off his bonds, while he was still upon the road, and that he should not come to Rome, but should now go and live at Lacedemon: he also gave him large revenues, that he might not only live in plenty, but like a king also. When Epiphanes, who before was in great fear for his father, was informed of this, their minds were freed from all that great and almost incurable concern they had been under. He also hoped that Cæsar would be reconciled to them, upon the intercession of Vologesus; for although he lived in plenty, he knew not how to bear living out of the Roman empire. So Cæsar gave him leave, after an obliging manner, and he came to Rome; and as his father came quickly to him from Lacedemon, he had all sorts of respect paid him there, and there he remained.

4. Now there was a nation of the Alans, which we have formerly mentioned* somewhere as being Scythians, and inhabiting at the lake Meotis. This nation about this time laid a design of falling upon Media and the parts beyond it, in order to plunder them; with which intention they treated with the king of Hyrcania; for he was master of that passage which king Alexander [the Great] shut up with iron gates. The king gave them leave to come through them: so they came in great multitudes, and fell upon the Medes unexpectedly, and plundered the country which they found full of people, and replenished with abundance of cattle, while nobody durst make any resistance against them; for Pacorus, the king of the country, had fled away for fear, into places where they could not easily come at him, and had yielded up every thing he had to them, and had only saved his wife and his concubines from them, and that with difficulty also, after they had been made captives, by giving them an hun-

† This is now wanting.

dred talents for their ransom. These Alans therefore plundered the country without opposition, and with great ease, and proceeded as far as Armenia, laying all waste before them. Now Tiridates was king of that country, who met them, and fought them, but had like to have been taken alive in the battle: for a certain man threw a net over him from a great distance, and had soon drawn him to him, unless he had immediately cut the cord with his sword, and ran away, and prevented it. So the Alans, being still more provoked by this sight, laid waste the country, and drove a great multitude of the men, and a great quantity of other prey they had gotten out of both kingdoms along with them, and then retreated back to their own country.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning Masada and those Sicarii who kept it; and how Silva betook himself to form the siege of that citadel. Eleazar's speeches to the besieged.

§ 1. When Bassus was dead in Judea, Flavius Silva succeeded him as procurator there: who when he saw that all the rest of the country was subdued in this war, and that there was but one only strong hold that was still in rebellion, he got all his army together that lay in different places, and made an expedition against it. This fortress was called Masada. It was one Eleazar, a potent man, and the commander of these Sicarii, that had seized upon it. He was a descendant from that Judas, who had persuaded abundance of the Jews, as we have formerly related, not to submit to the taxation when Syrenius was sent into Judea to make one; for then it was that the Sicarii got together against those that were willing to submit to the Romans, and treated them in all respects as if they had been their enemies, both by plundering them of what they had, by driving away their cattle, and by setting fire to the houses; for they said, that they differed not at all from foreigners, by betraying, in so cowardly a manner, that freedom which the Jews thought worthy to be contended for to the utmost, and by owning that they preferred slavery under the Romans before such a contention. Now, this was in reality no better than a pretence, and a cloak for the barbarity which was made use of by them; and to colour over their own avarice, which they afterwards made evident by their own actions; for those that were partners with them in their rebellion, joined also with them in the war against the Romans, and went farther lengths with them in their impudent undertakings against them; and when they were again convicted of dissembling in such their pretences,

they still more abused those that justly reproached them for their wickedness. And indeed that was a time most fertile in all manner of wicked practices, insomuch that no kind of evil deeds were then left undone; nor could any one so much as devise any bad thing that was new, so deeply were they all infected, and strove with one another in their single capacity, and in their communities, who should run the greatest lengths in impiety towards God, and in unjust actions towards their neighbours; the men of power oppressing the multitude, and the multitude earnestly labouring to destroy the men of power. The one part were desirous of tyrannizing over others, and the rest of offering violence to others, and of plundering such as were richer than themselves. They were the Sicarii who first began these transgressions, and first became barbarous towards those allied to them, and left no words of reproach unsaid, and no works of perdition untried, in order to destroy those whom their contrivances affected. Yet did John demonstrate by his actions, that these Sicarii were more moderate than he was himself, for he not only slew all such as gave him good counsel to do what was right, but treated them worst of all, as the most bitter enemies that he had among all the citizens; nay, he filled his entire country with ten thousand instances of wickedness, such as a man who was already hardened sufficiently in his impiety towards God would naturally do: for the food was unlawful that was set upon his table, and he rejected those purifications that the law of his country had ordained: so that it was no longer a wonder if he, who was so mad in his impiety towards God, did not observe any rules of gentleness and common affection towards men. Again, therefore, what mischief was there which Simon the son of Gioras did not do? or what kind of abuses did he abstain from as to those very free men who had set him up for a tyrant? What friendship or kindred were there that did not make him more bold in his daily murders? for they looked upon the doing of mischief to strangers only as a work beneath their courage, but thought their barbarity towards their nearest relations would be a glorious demonstration thereof. The Idumeans also strove with these men, which should be guilty of the greatest madness; for they [all], vile wretches as they were, cut the throats of the high-priests, that so no part of a religious regard to God might be preserved; they thence proceeded to destroy utterly the least remains of a political government, and introduced the most complete scene of iniquity in all instances that were practicable; under which scene, that sort of people that were called Zealots grew up, and who indeed corresponded to the name; for they imitated every wicked work; nor if their memory suggested

any evil thing that had formerly been done, did they avoid zealously to pursue the same; and although they gave themselves that name from their zeal for what was good, yet did it agree to them only by way of irony, on account of those they had unjustly treated by their wild and brutish disposition, or as thinking the greatest mischiefs to be the greatest good. Accordingly they all met with such ends as God deservedly brought upon them in way of punishment, for all such miseries have been sent upon them as man's nature is capable of undergoing, till the utmost period of their lives, and till death came upon them in various ways of torment; yet might one say justly that they suffered less than they had done, because it was impossible they could be punished according to their deserving. But to make a lamentation according to the deserts of those who fell under these men's barbarity, this is not a proper place for it: I therefore now return again to the remaining part of the present narration.

2. For now it was that the Roman general came, and led his army against Eleazar and those Sicarii who held the fortress Masada together with him; and for the whole country adjoining he presently gained it, and put garrisons into the most proper places of it; he also built a wall quite round the entire fortress, that none of the besieged might easily escape: he also set his men to guard the several parts of it: he also pitched his camp in such an agreeable place as he had chosen for the siege, and at which place the rock belonging to the fortress did make the nearest approach to the neighbouring mountain, which yet was a place of difficulty for getting plenty of provisions: for it was not only food that was to be brought from a great distance [to the army], and this with a great deal of pains to those Jews who were appointed for that purpose, but water was also to be brought to the camp, because the place afforded no fountain that was near it. When therefore Silva had ordered these affairs beforehand, he fell to besieging the place; which siege was likely to stand in need of a great deal of skill and pains, by reason of the strength of the fortress, the nature of which I will now describe.

3. There was a rock, not small in circumference, and very high. It was encompassed with vallies of such vast depth downward, that the eye could not reach their bottoms: they were abrupt, and such as no animal could walk upon, excepting at two places of the rock, where it subsides, in order to afford a passage for ascent, though not without difficulty. Now, of the ways that lead to it, one is that from the lake Asphaltitis, towards the sun-rising, and another on the west, where the ascent is easier: the one of these ways is called the *Serpent*, as resembling that animal in its narrowness and its perpetual windings;

for it is broken off at the prominent precipices of the rock, and returns frequently into itself, and lengthening again by little and little, hath much ado to proceed forward; and he that would walk along it must first go on one leg and then on the other: there is also nothing but destruction, in case your feet slip; for on each side there is a vastly deep chasm and precipice, sufficient to quell the courage of every body by the terror it infuses into the mind. When, therefore, a man hath got along this way for thirty furlongs, the rest is the top of the hill, not ending at a small point, but is no other than a plain upon the highest part of the mountain. Upon this top of the hill, Jonathan the high-priest first of all built a fortress, and called it *Masada;* after which the rebuilding of this place employed the care of king Herod to a great degree: he also built a wall round about the entire top of the hill, seven furlongs long: it was composed of white stone; its height was twelve, and its breadth eight cubits; there were also erected upon that wall, thirty-eight towers, each of them fifty cubits high; out of which you might pass into lesser edifices, which were built on the inside, round the entire wall; for the king reserved the top of the hill, which was of a fat soil, and better mould than any valley for agriculture, that such as committed themselves to this fortress for their preservation, might not even there be quite destitute of food, in case they should ever be in want of it from abroad. Moreover, he built a palace therein at the western ascent; it was within and beneath the walls of the citadel, but inclined to its north side. Now the wall of this palace was very high and strong, and had at its four corners towers sixty cubits high. The furniture also of the edifices, and of the cloisters, and of the baths, was of great variety, and very costly; and these buildings were supported by pillars of single stones on every side: the walls and also the floors of the edifices were paved with stones of several colours. He also had cut many and great pits, as reservoirs for water, out of the rocks, at every one of the places that were inhabited both above and round about the palace, and before the wall: and by this contrivance he endeavoured to have water for several uses as if there had been fountains there. Here was also a road digged from the palace, and leading to the very top of the mountain, which yet could not be seen by such as were without [the walls]; nor indeed could enemies easily make use of the plain roads: for the road on the east side, as we have already taken notice, could not be walked upon, by reason of its nature; and for the western road, he built a large tower at its narrowest place, at no less a distance from the top of the hill than a thousand cubits; which tower could not possibly be passed by, nor could it be easily taken; nor indeed could those that walked along it without any

fear, such was its contrivance, easily get to the end of it; and after such a manner was this citadel fortified both by nature and by the hands of men, in order to frustrate the attacks of enemies.

4. As for the furniture that was within this fortress, it was still more wonderful on account of its splendour and long continuance; for here was laid up corn in great quantities, and such as would subsist men for a long time: here was also wine and oil in abundance, with all kinds of pulse and dates heaped up together: all which Eleazar found there, when he and his Sicarii got possession of the fortress by treachery. These fruits were also fresh and full ripe, no way inferior to such fruits newly laid in, although they were little short of an hundred years * from the laying in these provisions, [by Herod], till the place was taken by the Romans; nay indeed when the Romans got possession of those fruits that were left, they found them not corrupted all that while; nor should we be mistaken, if we suppose that the air was here the cause of their enduring so long; this fortress being so high, and so free from the mixture of all terrene and muddy particles of matter. There was also found here a large quantity of all sorts of weapons of war, which had been treasured up by that king, and were sufficient for ten thousand men: there was cast iron, and brass, and tin, which shew that he had taken much pains to have all things here ready for the greatest occasions; for the report goes how Herod thus prepared this fortress on his own account, as a refuge against two kinds of danger; the one for fear of the multitude of the Jews, lest they should depose him, and restore their former kings to the government: the other danger was greater and more terrible, which arose from Cleopatra queen of Egypt, who did not conceal her intentions, but spoke often to Antony, and desired him to cut off Herod, and entreated him to bestow the kingdom of Judea upon her. And certainly it is a great wonder that Antony did never comply with her commands in this point, as he was so miserably enslaved to his passion for her: nor should any one have been surprised if she had been gratified in such her request. So the fear of these dangers made Herod rebuild Masada, and thereby leave it for the finishing stroke of the Romans in this Jewish war.

5. Since therefore the Roman commander Silva had now built a wall on the outside, round about this whole place, as we have said already, and had thereby made a most accurate provision to

* Pliny and others confirm this strange paradox, that provisions laid up against sieges will continue good for an hundred years, as Spanheim notes upon this place.

prevent any one of the besieged running away, he undertook the siege himself, though he found but one single place that would admit of the banks he was to raise; for behind that tower which secured the road that led to the palace, and to the top of the hill, from the west, there was a certain eminency of the rock, very broad and very prominent, but three hundred cubits beneath the highest part of Masada: it was called *the White promontory*. Accordingly he got upon that part of the rock, and ordered the army to bring earth; and when they fell to that work with alacrity and abundance of them together, the bank was raised, and became solid for two hundred cubits in height. Yet was not this bank thought sufficiently high, for the use of the engines that were to be set upon it; but still another elevated work of great stones compacted together was raised upon that bank: this was fifty cubits, both in breadth and height. The other machines that were now got ready, were like to those that had been first devised by Vespasian, and afterwards by Titus, for sieges. There was also a tower made of the height of sixty cubits, and all over plated with iron, out of which the Romans threw darts and stones from the engines, and soon made those that fought from the walls of the place to retire, and would not let them lift up their heads above the works. At the same time Silva ordered that great battering ram which he had made to be brought thither, and to be set against the wall, and to make frequent batteries against it, which, with some difficulty broke down a part of the wall, and quite overthrew it. However, the Sicarii made haste, and presently built another wall within that, which should not be liable to the same misfortune from the machines with the other: it was made soft and yielding, and so was capable of avoiding the terrible blows that affected the other. It was framed after the following manner: They laid together great beams of wood lengthways, one closs to the end of of another, and the same way in which they were cut: there were two of these rows parallel to one another, and laid at such a distance from each other as the breadth of the wall required, and earth was put into the space between those rows. Now, that the earth might not fall away upon the elevation of this bank to a greater height, they farther laid other beams over across them, and thereby bound those beams together that lay lengthways. This work of theirs was like a real edifice; and when the machines were applied, the blows were weakened by its yielding, and as the materials by such concussion were shaken closer together, the pile by that means became firmer than before. When Silva saw this, he thought it best to endeavour the taking of this wall by setting fire to it: so he gave order that the soldiers should throw a great number of burning torches upon it:

accordingly, as it was chiefly made of wood, it soon took fire; and when it was once set on fire, its hollowness made that fire spread to a mighty flame. Now at the very beginning of this fire, a north wind that then blew proved terrible to the Romans; for by bringing the flame downward, it drove it upon them, and they were almost in despair of success, as fearing their machines would be burnt: but after this, on a sudden the wind changed into the south, as if it were done by Divine Providence, and blew strongly the contrary way, and carried the flame, and drove it against the wall, which was now on fire through its entire thickness. So the Romans, having now assistance from God, returned to their camp with joy, and resolved to attack their enemies the very next day; on which occasion they set their watch more carefully that night, lest any of the Jews should run away from them without being discovered.

6. However, neither did Eleazar once think of flying away, nor would he permit any one else to do so: but when he saw their wall burned down by the fire, and could devise no other way of escaping, or room for their farther courage, and setting before their eyes what the Romans would do to them, their children and their wives, if they got them into their power, he consulted about having them all slain. Now, as he judged this to be the best thing they could do in their present circumstances he gathered the most courageous of his companions together, and encouraged them to take that course by a speech * which he made to them in the manner following: "Since we, long ago, my generous "friends, resolved never to be servants to the Romans, nor to any "other than to God himself, who alone is the true and just Lord "of mankind, the time is now come that obliges us to make "that resolution true in practice. And let us not at this time "bring a reproach upon ourselves for self-contradiction, while "we formerly would not undergo slavery, though it were then "without danger, but must now, together with slavery, choose "such punishments also, as are intolerable: I mean this upon "the supposition that the Romans once reduce us under their "power while we are alive. We were the very first that re-"volted from them, and we are the last that fight against them;

* The speeches in this and the next section, introduced under the person of this Eleazar, are exceeding remarkable, and on the noblest subjects, the contempt of death, and the dignity and immortality of the soul; and that not only among the Jews, but among the Indians themselves also, and are highly worthy the perusal of all the curious. It seems as if that Philosophic lady who survived, ch. 9. sect. 1, 2. remembered the substance of these discourses, as spoken by Eleazar, and so Josephus clothed them in his own words: at the lowest they contain the Jewish notions on these heads, as understood then by our Josephus, and cannot but deserve a suitable regard from us.

"and I cannot but esteem it as a favour that God hath granted "us, that it is still in our power to die bravely, and in a state of "freedom, which hath not been the case of others, who were "conquered unexpectedly. It is very plain that we shall be "taken within a day's time, but it is still an eligible thing to "die after a glorious manner, together with our dearest friends. "This is what our enemies themselves cannot by any means "hinder, although they be very desirous to take us alive. Nor "can we propose to ourselves any more to fight them, and beat "them. It had been proper indeed for us to have conjectured "at the purpose of God much sooner, at the very first, when we "were so desirous of defending our liberties, and when we re-"ceived such sore treatment from one another, and worse treat-"ment from our enemies, and to have been sensible that the same "God, who had of old taken the Jewish nation into his favour, "had now condemned them to destruction; for had he either "continued favourable, or been but in a lesser degree displeased "with us, he had not overlooked the destruction of so many "men, or delivered his most holy city to be burnt and demo-"lished by our enemies. To be sure we weakly hoped to have "preserved ourselves, and ourselves alone, still in a state of free-"dom, as if we had been guilty of no sins ourselves against God, "nor been partners with those of others; we also taught other "men to preserve their liberty. Wherefore, consider how God "hath convinced us that our hopes were in vain, by bringing "such distress upon us in the desperate state we are now in, and "which is beyond all our expectations; for the nature of this "fortress, which was in itself unconquerable, hath not proved a "means of our deliverance; and even while we have still great "abundance of food, and a great quantity of arms, and other ne-"cessaries more than we want, we are openly deprived by God "himself of all hope of deliverance; for that fire which was "driven upon our enemies, did not of its own accord turn back "upon the wall which we had built: this was the effect of "God's anger against us for our manifold sins, which we have "been guilty of in a most insolent and extravagant manner with "regard to our own countrymen; the punishments of which "let us not receive from the Romans, but from God himself, "as executed by our own hands; for these will be more mode-"rate than the other. Let our wives die before they are a-"bused, and our children before they have tasted of slavery; "and after we have slain them, let us bestow that glorious bene-"fit upon one another mutually, and preserve ourselves in free-"dom, as an excellent funeral monument for us. But first let "us destroy our money and the fortress by fire; for I am well as-"sured that this would be a great grief to the Romans, that they

"shall not be able to seize upon our bodies, and shall fail of our "wealth also: and let us spare nothing but our provisions; for "they will be a testimonial when we are dead, that we were not "subdued for want of necessaries, but that, according to our "original resolution, we have preferred death before slavery."

7. This was Eleazar's speech to them. Yet did not the opinions of all the auditors acquiesce therein; but although some of them were very zealous to put his advice in practice, and were in a manner filled with pleasure at it: and thought death to be a good thing, yet had those that were most effeminate a commiseration for their wives and families; and when these men were especially moved by the prospect of their own certain death, they looked wistfully at one another, and by the tears that were in their eyes, declared their dissent from his opinion. When Eleazar saw these people in such fear; and that their souls were dejected at so prodigious a proposal, he was afraid lest perhaps these effeminate persons should by their lamentations and tears enfeeble those that heard what he had said courageously; so he did not leave off exhorting them, but stirred up himself, and recollecting proper arguments for raising their courage, he undertook to speak more briskly, and fully to them, and that concerning the immortality of the soul. So he made a lamentable groan, and fixing his eyes intently on those that wept, he spake thus: "Truly I was greatly mistaken, "when I thought to be assisting to brave men who struggled "hard for their liberty, and to such as were resolved either to "live with honour, or else to die: but I find that you are such "people as are no better than others, either in virtue or in "courage, and are afraid of dying, though you be delivered "thereby from the greatest miseries, while you ought to make "no delay in this matter, nor to await any one to give you a "good advice; for the laws of our country, and of God himself, have from ancient times, and as soon as ever we could "use our reason, continually taught us, and our forefathers have "corroborated the same doctrine by their actions, and by their "bravery of mind, that it is life that is a calamity to men, and "not death; for this last affords our souls their liberty, and "sends them by a removal into their own place of purity, "where they are to be insensible of all sorts of misery; for "while souls are tied down to a mortal body, they are partakers of its miseries; and really to speak the truth, they are "themselves dead; for the union of what is divine, to what is "mortal, is disagreeable. It is true, the power of the soul is "great, even when it is imprisoned in a mortal body: for by "moving it after a way that is invisible, it makes the body a "sensible instrument, and causes it to advance farther in its ac-

"tions, than mortal nature could otherwise do. However, "when it is freed from that weight which draws it down to "the earth and is connected with it, it obtains its own proper "place, and does then become a partaker of that blessed power, "and those abilities which are then every way incapable of "being hindered in their operations. It continues invisible, "indeed, to the eyes of men, as does God himself; for certain-"ly it is not itself seen, while it is in the body, for it is there "after an invisible manner, and when it is freed from it, it is "still not seen. It is this soul which hath one nature, and that "an incorruptible one also; but yet is it the cause of the "change that is made in the body, for whatsoever it be which "the soul touches, that lives and flourishes, and from whatso-"ever it is removed that withers away and dies; such a degree "is there in it of immortality. Let me produce the state of "sleep as a most evident demonstration of the truth of what I "say; wherein souls, when the body does not distract them, "have the sweetest rest depending on themselves, and convers-"ing with God, by their alliance to him; they then go every "where, and foretel many futurities before-hand. And why "are we afraid of death, while we are pleased with the rest "that we have in sleep? And how absurd a thing is it to pur-"sue after liberty while we are alive, and yet to envy it to our-"selves where it will be eternal? We, therefore, who have "been brought up in a discipline of our own, ought to become "an example to others of our readiness to die. Yet, if we do "stand in need of foreigners to support us in this matter, let us "regard those Indians who profess the exercise of philosophy; "for these good men do but unwillingly undergo the time of "life, and look upon it as a necessary servitude, and make haste "to let their souls loose from their bodies: nay, when no mis-"fortune presses them to it, nor drives them upon it, these have "such a desire of a life of immortality, that they tell other "men before-hand that they are about to depart; and nobody "hinders them, but every one thinks them happy men, and "gives them letters to be carried to their familiar friends [that "are dead], so firmly and certainly do they believe that souls "converse with one another in the [other world]. So when "these men have heard all such commands that were to be gi-"ven them, they deliver their body to the fire; and, in order "to their getting their soul a separation from the body in the "greatest purity, they die in the midst of hymns of commenda-"tions made to them; for their dearest friends conduct them "to their death more readily than do any of the rest of man-"kind conduct their fellow-citizens when they are going a "very long journey, who at the same time weep on their own

"account, but look upon the others as happy persons, as so "soon to be made partakers of the immortal order of beings. "Are not we, therefore, ashamed to have lower notions than "the Indians? and by our own cowardice to lay a base re-"proach upon the laws of our country, which are so much de-"sired and imitated by all mankind? But put the case that we "had been brought up under another persuasion, and taught "that life is the greatest good which men are capable of, and "that death is a calamity: however, the circumstances we are "now in ought to be an inducement to us to bear such calami-"ty courageously, since it is by the will of God, and by neces-"sity that we are to die; for it now appears that God hath "made such a decree against the whole Jewish nation; that we "are to be deprived of this life which [he knew] we would "not make a due use of. For do not you ascribe the occasion "of our present condition to yourselves, nor think the Romans "are the true occasion that this war we have had with them "is become so destructive to us all: these things have not come "to pass by their power, but a more powerful cause hath in-"tervened, and made us afford them an occasion of their ap-"pearing to be conquerors over us. What Roman weapons, "I pray you, were those, by which the Jews at Cæsarea were "slain? On the contrary, when they were no way disposed to "rebel, but were all the while keeping their seventh day festi-"val, and did not so much as lift up their hands against the ci-"tizens of Cæsarea, yet did those citizens run upon them in "great crowds, and cut their throats, and the throats of their "wives and children, and this without any regard to the Ro-"mans themselves; who never took us for their enemies till "we revolted from them. But some may be ready to say, "that truly the people of Cesarea had always a quarrel against "those that lived among them; and that when an opportunity "offered itself they only satisfied the old rancour they had a-"gainst them. What then shall we say to those of Scythopo-"lis, who ventured to wage war with us on account of the "Greeks? Nor did they do it by way of revenge upon the "Romans, when they acted in concert with our countrymen. "Wherefore you see how little our good-will and fidelity to "them profited us, while they were slain, they and their whole "families, after the most inhuman manner, which was all the "requital that was made them for the assistance they had af-"forded the others: for that very same destruction which they "had prevented from falling upon the others, did they suffer "themselves from them, as if they had been ready to be the "actors against them. It would be too long for me to speak "at this time of every destruction brought upon us; for you

"cannot but know, that there was not any one Syrian city "which did not slay their Jewish inhabitants, and were not "more bitter enemies to us than were the Romans themselves: "nay, even those of Damascus*, when they were able to al- "lege no tolerable pretence against us, filled their city with the "most barbarous slaughters of our people, and cut the throats "of eighteen thousand Jews, with their wives and children. "And as to the multitude of those that were slain in Egypt, "and that with torments also, we have been informed they "were more than sixty thousand: those indeed being in a fo- "reign country, and so naturally meeting with nothing to op- "pose against their enemies, were killed in the manner fore- "mentioned. As for all those of us who have waged war a- "gainst the Romans, in our own country, had we not sufficient "reason to have sure hopes of victory? For we had arms, and "walls and fortresses so prepared as not to be easily taken, and "courage not to be moved by any dangers in the cause of li- "berty, which encouraged us all to revolt from the Romans. "But then, these advantages sufficed us but for a short time, "and only raised our hopes, while they really appeared to be "the origin of our miseries; for all we had hath been taken "from us, and all hath fallen under our enemies, as if these "advantages were only to render their victory over us the "more glorious, and were not disposed for the preservation of "those by whom these preparations were made. And as for "those that are already dead in the war, it is reasonable we "should esteem them blessed, for they are dead in defending, "and not in betraying their liberty; but as to the multitude "of those that are now under the Romans, who would not pity "their condition? and who would not make haste to die, be- "fore he would suffer the same miseries with them? Some of "them have been put upon the rack, and tortured with fire "and whippings, and so died. Some have been half devoured "by wild beasts, and yet have been reserved alive to be de- "voured by them a second time, in order to afford laughter "and sport to our enemies; and such of those as are alive still, "are to be looked on as the most miserable, who being so de- "sirous of death, could not come at it: And where is now that "great city, the metropolis of the Jewish nation! which was "fortified by so many walls round about, which had so many "fortresses and large towers to defend it, which could hardly "contain the instruments prepared for the war, and which had "so many ten thousands of men to fight for it? Where is this "city that was believed to have God himself inhabiting there-

* See B. II. ch. xx. sect. 2. where the number of the slain is about 10,000.

"in? It is now demolished to the very foundations, and hath "nothing but that monument of it preserved, I mean the camp "of those that hath destroyed it, which still dwells upon its "ruins; some unfortunate old men also lie upon the ashes of "the temple, and a few women are there preserved alive by the "enemy, for our bitter shame and reproach. Now, who is "there that revolves these things in his mind, and yet is able "to bear the sight of the sun, though he might live out of dan-"ger? Who is there so much his country's enemy, or so un-"manly, and so desirous of living, as not to repent that he is "still alive? And I cannot but wish that we had all died, be-"fore we had seen that holy city demolished by the hands of "our enemies, or the foundations of our holy temple dug up "after so profane a manner. But since we had a generous "hope that deluded us, as if we might perhaps have been able "to avenge ourselves on our enemies on that account, though "it be now become vanity, and hath left us alone in this dis-"tress, let us make haste to die bravely. Let us pity our-"selves, our children, and our wives, while it is in our own "power to shew pity to them: for we * were born to die, as "well as those were whom we have begotten: nor is it in the "power of the most happy of our race to avoid it. But for "abuses, and slavery, and the sight of our wives led away after "an ignominious manner, with their children, these are not "such evils as are natural and necessary among men; although "such as do not prefer death before those miseries, when it is "in their power so to do, must undergo even them, on account "of their own cowardice. We revolted from the Romans "with great pretensions to courage, and when, at the very last, "they invited us to preserve ourselves, we would not comply "with them. Who will not, therefore, believe that they will "certainly be in a rage at us, in case they can take us alive? "Miserable will then be the young men, who will be strong "enough in their bodies to sustain many torments; miserable "also will be those of elder years, who will not be able to bear "those calamities which young men might sustain. One man "will be obliged to hear the voice of his son implore help of "his father, when his hands are bound. But certainly our "hands are still at liberty, and have a sword in them, let them "then be subservient to us in our glorious design: let us die "before we become slaves under our enemies, and let us go out "of the world, together with our children, and our wives, in a "state of freedom. This it is that our laws command us to

* Reland here sets down a parallel aphorism of one of the Jewish rabbins, "We are born that we may die, and die that we may live."

"do; this it is that our wives and children crave at our hands; "nay, God himself hath brought this necessity upon us, while "the Romans desire the contrary, and are afraid lest any of us "should die before we are taken. Let us therefore make haste, "and instead of affording them so much pleasure, as they hope "for in getting us under their power, let us leave them an ex- "ample which shall at once cause their astonishment at our "death, and their admiration of our hardiness therein."

CHAP. IX.

How the people that were in the fortress were prevailed on by the words of Eleazar, two women and five children only excepted, and all submitted to be killed by one another.

§ 1. Now as Eleazar was proceeding on this exhortation, they all cut him off short, and made haste to do the work, as full of an unconquerable ardour of mind, and moved with a demoniacal fury. So they went their ways, as one still endeavouring to be before another, and as thinking that this eagerness would be a demonstration of their courage and good conduct, if they could avoid appearing in the last class; so great was the zeal they were in to slay their wives and children, and themselves also. Nor indeed, when they came to the work itself, did their courage fail them, as one might imagine it would have done, but they then held fast the same resolution, without wavering, which they had upon the hearing of Eleazar's speech, while yet every one of them still retained the natural passion of love to themselves and their families, because the reasoning they went upon appeared to them to be very just, even with regard to those that were dearest to them; for the husbands tenderly embraced their wives, and took their children into their arms; and gave the longest parting kisses to them, with tears in their eyes. Yet at the same time did they complete what they had resolved on, as if they had been executed by the hands of strangers; and they had nothing else for their comfort, but the necessity they were in of doing this execution, to avoid that prospect they had of the miseries they were to suffer from their enemies. Nor was there at length any one of these men found that scrupled to act their part in this terrible execution, but every one of them dispatched his dearest relations. Miserable men indeed were they! whose distress forced them to slay their own wives and children with their own hands, as the lightest of those evils that were before them. So they being not able to bear the grief they were under for what they had done any longer, and esteeming it an injury to those they had slain, to live even the shortest space

of time after them, they presently laid all they had upon an heap, and set fire to it. They then chose ten men by lot out of them, to slay all the rest: every one of which laid himself down by his wife and children on the ground, and threw his arms about them, and they offered their necks to the stroke of those who by lot executed that melancholy office: and when these ten had, without fear, slain them all, they made the same rule for casting lots for themselves, that he whose lot it was should first kill the other nine, and after all should kill himself. Accordingly, all these had courage sufficient to be no way behind one another in doing or suffering; so, for a conclusion, the nine offered their necks to the executioner, and he who was the last of all took a view of all the other bodies, lest perchance some or other among so many that were slain should want his assistance to be quite dispatched, and when he perceived that they were all slain, he set fire to the palace, and with the great force of his hand ran his sword entirely through himself, and fell down dead near to his own relations. So these people died with this intention, that they would leave not so much as one soul among them all alive to be subject to the Romans. Yet was there an ancient woman, and another who was of kin to Eleazar, and superior to most women in prudence and learning, with five children who had concealed themselves in caverns under ground, and had carried water thither for their drink, and were hidden there when the rest were intent upon the slaughter of one another. Those others were nine hundred and sixty in number, the women and children being withal included in that computation. This calamitous slaughter was made on the fifteenth day of the month Xanthicus [Nisan].

2. Now for the Romans, they expected that they should be fought in the morning, when accordingly they put on their armour, and laid bridges of planks upon their ladders from their banks, to make an assault upon the fortress, which they did; but saw nobody as an enemy, but a terrible solitude on every side with a fire within the palace, as well as a perfect silence. So they were at a loss to guess at what had happened. At length they made a shout, as if it had been at a blow given by the battering ram, to try whether they could bring any one out that was within; the women heard this noise, and came out of their underground cavern, and informed the Romans what had been done, as it was done, and the second of them clearly described all both what was said, and what was done, and the manner of it; yet did they not easily give their attention to such a desperate undertaking, and did not believe it could be as they said; they also attempted to put the fire out, and quickly cutting themselves a way through it, they came within the palace, and

so met with the multitude of the slain, but could take no pleasure in the fact, though it were done to their enemies. Nor could they do other than wonder at the courage of their resolution, and the immoveable contempt of death which so great a number of them had shewn, when they went through with such an action as that was.

CHAP. X.

That many of the Sicarii fled to Alexandria also, and what dangers they were in there; on which account that temple which had formerly been built by Onias the high priest was destroyed.

§ 1. WHEN Masada was thus taken, the general left a garrison in the fortress to keep it, and he himself went to Cesarea; for there were now no enemies left in the country, but it was all overthrown by so long a war. Yet did this war afford disturbances and dangerous disorders even in places very far remote from Judea; for still it came to pass, that many Jews were slain at Alexandria in Egypt; for as many of the Sicarii as were able to fly thither, out of the seditious wars in Judea, were not content to have saved themselves, but must needs be undertaking to make new disturbances, and persuaded many of those that entertained them to assert their liberty, to esteem the Romans to be no better than themselves, and to look upon God as their only Lord and Master. But when part of the Jews of reputation opposed them, they slew some of them, and with the others they were very pressing in their exhortations to revolt from the Romans; but when the principal men of the senate saw what madness they were come to, they thought it no longer safe for themselves to overlook them. So they got all the Jews together to an assembly, and accused the madness of the Sicarii, and demonstrated that they had been the authors of all the evils that had come upon them. They said also, that "these men, now they were run away from Judea, having "no sure hope of escaping, because as soon as ever they shall "be known, they will be soon destroyed by the Romans, they "come hither and fill us full of those calamities which belong "to them, while we have not been partakers with them in any "of their sins." Accordingly they exhorted the multitude to have a care lest they should be brought to destruction by their means, and to make their apology to the Romans for what had been done, by delivering these men up to them; who being thus apprised of the greatness of the danger they were in, complied with what was proposed, and ran with great violence upon the Sicarii, and seized upon them; and indeed six hundred of them

were caught immediately; but as to all those that fled into Egypt*, and to the Egyptian Thebes, it was not long ere they were caught also, and brought back, whose courage or whether we ought to call it madness, or hardiness in their opinions, every body was amazed at. For when all sorts of torments and vexations of their bodies that could be devised were made use of to them, they could not get any one of them to comply so far as to confess or seem to confess that Cæsar was their lord; but they preserved their own opinion in spite of all the distress they were brought to, as if they received these torments and the fire itself with bodies insensible of pain, and with a soul that in a manner rejoiced under them. But what was most of all astonishing to the beholders, was the age of the children; for not one of these children was so far overcome by these torments, as to name Cæsar for their lord: So far does the strength of the courage [of the soul] prevail over the weakness of the body.

2. Now Lupus did then govern Alexandria, who presently sent Cæsar word of this commotion, who having in suspicion the restless temper of the Jews for innovation, and being afraid lest they should get together again, and persuade some others to join with them, gave orders to Lupus to demolish that Jewish† temple which was in the region called Onion, and was in Egypt; which was built, and had its denomination from the occasion following: Onias, the son of Simon, one of the Jewish high priests, fled from Antiochus the king of Syria, when he made war with the Jews, and came to Alexandria; and as Ptolemy received him very kindly, on account of his hatred to Antiochus, he assured him, that if he would comply with his proposal, he would bring all the Jews to his assistance; and when the king agreed to do it so far as he was able, he desired him to give him leave to build a temple somewhere in Egypt, and to worship God according to the customs of his own country; for that the Jews would then be so much readier to fight against Anti-

* Since Josephus here informs us, that some of these Sicarii, or Ruffians, went from Alexandria (which was itself in Egypt, in a large sense) into Egypt and Thebes, there situated, Reland well observes, from Vossius, that Egypt sometimes denotes Proper, or Upper Egypt, as distinct from Delta, and the lower parts near Palestine. Accordingly, as he adds, those that say it never rains in Egypt, must mean the Proper or Upper Egypt, because it does sometimes rain in the other parts. See the notes on Antiq. B. II. chap. vii. § 7. and B. III. chap. i. § 6. Vol. I.

† Of this temple of Onias's building in Egypt, see the notes on Antiq. B. XIII. ch. iii. § 1. Vol. II. But whereas it is elsewhere, both Of the War, B. I. ch. i. § 1. Vol. III. and in the Antiquities as now quoted, said, that this temple was like to that at Jerusalem, and here it was not like it, but like a tower, sect. 3. there is some reason to suspect the reading here, and that either the negative particle is here to be blotted out, or the word entirely added.

ochus, who had laid waste the temple at Jerusalem, and that they would then come to him with greater good-will, and that by granting them liberty of conscience, very many of them would come over to him.

3. So Ptolemy complied with his proposals, and gave him a place * one hundred and eighty furlongs distant from Memphis. That Nomos was called the Nomos of Heliopolis, where Onias built a fortress and a temple, not like to that of Jerusalem, but such as resembled a tower. He built it of large stones to the height of sixty cubits; he made the structure of the altar in imitation of that in our own country, and in like manner adorned with gifts, excepting the make of the candlestick, for he did not make a candlestick, but had a [single] lamp hammered out of a piece of gold, which illuminated the place with its rays, and which he hung by a chain of gold; but the entire temple was encompassed with a wall of burnt brick, though it had gates of stone. The king also gave him a large country for a revenue in money, that both the priests might have a plentiful provision made for them, and that God might have great abundance of what things were necessary for his worship. Yet did not Onias do this out of a sober disposition, but he had a mind to contend with the Jews at Jerusalem, and could not forget the indignation he had for being banished thence. Accordingly he thought that by building this temple he should draw away a great number from them to himself. There had been also a certain ancient prediction made by [a prophet] whose name was Isaiah, about six hundred years before, that this temple should be built by a man that was a Jew, in Egypt†. And this is the history of the building of that temple.

4. And now Lupus the governor of Alexandria, upon the receipt of Cæsar's letter, came to the temple, and carried out of it some of the donations dedicated thereto, and shut up the temple itself. And as Lupus died a little afterward, Paulinus succeeded him. This man left none of those donations there, and threatened the priests severely if they did not bring them all out; nor did he permit any who were desirous of worshipping God there, so much as to come near the whole sacred place. But when he had shut up the gates, he made it entirely inaccessible, inso-

* We must observe that Josephus here speaks of Antiochus, who profaned the temple, as now alive, when Onias had leave given him by Philometer, to build his temple; whereas it seems not to have been actually built till about fifteen years afterwards. Yet because it is said in the Antiquities, that Onias went to Philometer, B. XII. ch. ix. sect. 7. Vol. II. during the lifetime of that Antiochus, it is probable he petitioned, and perhaps obtained his leave then, though it were not actually built or finished till fifteen years afterward.

† Isa. xix. 18—23.

much that there remained no longer the least footsteps of any divine worship that had been in that place. Now the duration of this time from the building of this temple, till it was shut up again was three hundred and forty-three years.

CHAP. XI.

Concerning Jonathan, one of the Sicarii, that stirred up a sedition in Cyrene, and was a false accuser [of the innocent].

§ 1. And now did the madness of the Sicarii, like a disease, reach as far as the cities of Cyrene; for one Jonathan, a vile person, and by trade a weaver, came thither and prevailed with no small number of the poorer sort to give ear to him; he also led them into the desert, upon promising them that he would shew them signs and apparitions. And as for the other Jews of Cyrene, he concealed his knavery from them, and put tricks upon them: but those of the greatest dignity among them, informed Catullus, the governor of the Libyan Pentapolis, of his march into the desert, and of the preparations he had made for it. So he sent out after him both horsemen and footmen, and easily overcame them, because they were unarmed men: of these many were slain in the fight, but some were taken alive, and brought to Catullus. As for Jonathan, the head of this plot, he fled away at this time, but upon a great and very diligent search, which was made over all the country for him, he was taken also. And when he was brought to Catullus, he devised a way whereby he both escaped punishment himself, and afforded an occasion to Catullus of doing much mischief; for he falsely accused the richest men among the Jews, and said, that they had put him upon what he did.

2. Now Catullus easily admitted of these his calumnies, and aggravated matters greatly, and made tragical exclamations, that he might also be supposed to have had an hand in the finishing of the Jewish war. But what was still harder, he did not only give a too easy belief to his stories, but he taught the Sicarii to accuse men falsely. He bid this Jonathan, therefore, to name one Alexander, a Jew, (with whom he had formerly had a quarrel, and openly professed that he hated him): he also got him to name his wife Bernice, as concerned with him. These two Catullus ordered to be slain in the first place; nay, after them he caused all the rich and wealthy Jews to be slain, being no fewer in all than three thousand. This he thought he might do safely, because he confiscated their effects, and added them to Cæsar's revenues.

3. Nay, indeed, lest any Jews that lived elsewhere should con-

vict him of his villany, he extended his false accusations farther, and persuaded Jonathan, and certain others that were caught with him, to bring an accusation of attempts for innovation against the Jews that were of the best character both at Alexandria and at Rome. One of these, against whom this treacherous accusation was laid, was Josephus, the writer of these books. However, this plot, thus contrived by Catullus, did not succeed according to his hopes; for though he came himself to Rome, and brought Jonathan and his companions along with him in bonds, and thought he should have had no farther inquisition made as to those lies that were forged under his government, or by his means, yet did Vespasian suspect the matter, and made an inquiry how far it was true. And when he understood that the accusation laid against the Jews was an unjust one, he cleared them of the crimes charged upon them, and this, on account of Titus's concern about the matter, and brought a deserved punishment upon Jonathan; for he was first tormented, and then burnt alive.

4. But as to Catullus, the emperors were so gentle to him, that he underwent no severer condemnation at this time: yet was it not long before he fell into a complicated and almost incurable distemper, and died miserably. He was not only afflicted in body, but the distemper in his mind was more heavy upon him than the other; for he was terribly disturbed, and continually cried out, "That he saw the ghosts of those whom he had slain "standing before him." Whereupon he was not able to contain himself, but leaped out of his bed, as if both torments and fire were brought to him. This his distemper grew still a great deal worse and worse continually, and his very entrails were so corroded, that they fell out of his body, and in that condition he died. Thus he became as great an instance of divine Providence as ever was, and demonstrated that God punishes wicked men.

5. And here we shall put an end to this our history; wherein we formerly promised to deliver the same with all accuracy, to such as should be desirous of understanding after what manner this war of the Romans with the Jews was managed. Of which history, how good the style is, must be left to the determination of the readers: but as for the agreement with the facts, I shall not scruple to say, and that boldly, that truth hath been what I have alone aimed at through its entire composition.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS,

ON THE

ANTIQUITY OF THE JEWS,

AGAINST

APION*.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

BOOK I.

§ 1. I suppose that by my books of the Antiquities of the Jews, most excellent Epaphroditus†, I have made it evident to those that peruse them, that our Jewish nation is of very great antiquity, and had a distinct subsistence of its own ori-

* This first book has a wrong title. It is not written against Apion, as is the first part of the second book, but against those Greeks in general who would not believe Josephus's former accounts of the very ancient state of the Jewish nation, in his XX. Books of Antiquities; and particularly against Agatharchides, Manethon, Cheremon, and Lysimachus. It is one of the most learned, excellent, and useful books of all Antiquity, and upon Jerom's perusal of this, and the following books, he declares, That "it seems to him a miraculous thing, how one that was an Hebrew, who had been from his infancy instructed in sacred learning, should be able "to produce such a number of testimonies out of profane authors, as if he had "read over the Grecian libraries." Epist. 34. and Magnum; and the learned Jew, Manasseh ben Israel, esteemed those two books so excellent, as to translate them into the Hebrew: this we learn from his own catalogue of his works, which I have seen. As to the time and place, when and where these two books were written, the learned have not hitherto been able to determine them any farther than that they were written some time after his Antiquities, or some time after A. D. 93, which indeed is too obvious at their entrance to be overlooked by even a careless peruser; they being directly intended against those that would not believe what he had advanced in those books concerning the great antiquity of the Jewish nation. As to the place, they all imagine that these two books were written where the former were, I mean at Rome; and I confess, that myself believed both these determinations, till I came to finish my notes upon these books, when I met with plain indications that they were written not at Rome, but in Judea, and this after the 3d of Trajan, or A. D. 100.

† Take Dr. Hudson's note here, which as it justly contradicts the common opinion, that Josephus either died under Domitian, or at least wrote nothing later than his days, so does it perfectly agree to my own determination, from Justus of Tiberias, that he wrote or finished his own life after the 3d of Trajan, or A. D. 100. To which Noldius also agrees, de Herod, No. 383 [*Epaphroditus*]. Since "Flavius Josephus," says Dr. Hudson, "wrote [or finished] his books of Antiquities on the 13th "of Domitian, [A. D. 93.] and after that wrote the Memoirs of his own life, as an "Appendix to the books of Antiquities, and at last his two books against Apion, and "yet dedicated all those writings to Epaphroditus, he can hardly be that Epaphroditus who was formerly secretary to Nero, and was slain on the 14th [or 15th] of "Domitian, after he had been for a good while in banishment, but another Epaphroditus, a freedman, and procurator of Trajan," as says Grotius on Luke i. 3.

ginally, as also, I have therein declared, how we came to inhabit this country wherein we now live. These antiquities contain the history of five thousand years, and are taken out of our sacred books, but are translated by me into the Greek tongue. However, since I observe a considerable number of people giving ear to the reproaches that are laid against us by those who bear ill will to us, and will not believe what I have written concerning the antiquity of our nation, while they take it for a plain sign that our nation is of a late date, because they are not so much as vouchsafed a bare mention by the most famous historiographers among the Grecians, I therefore have thought myself under an obligation to write somewhat briefly about these subjects, in order to convict those that reproach us of spite and voluntary falsehood, and to correct the ignorance of others, and withal to instruct all those who are desirous of knowing the truth, of what great antiquity we really are. As for the witnesses whom I shall produce for the proof of what I say, they shall be such as are esteemed to be of the greatest reputation for truth, and the most skilful in the knowledge of all antiquity by the Greeks themselves. I will also shew, that those who have written so reproachfully and falsely about us, are to be convicted by what they have written themselves to the contrary. I shall also endeavour to give an account of the reasons why it hath so happened, that there have not been a great number of Greeks who have made mention of our nation in their histories; I will, however, bring those Grecians to light, who have not omitted such our history, for the sake of those that either do not know them, or pretend not to know them already.

2. And now, in the first place, I cannot but greatly wonder at those men, who suppose that we must attend to none but Grecians, when we are inquiring about the most ancient facts, and must inform ourselves of their truth from them only, while we must not believe ourselves nor other men; for I am convinced, that the very reverse is the truth of the case. I mean this, if we will not be led by vain opinions, but will make inquiry after truth from facts themselves; for they will find, that almost all which concerns the Greeks happened not long ago; nay, one may say, is of yesterday only. I speak of the building of their cities, the inventions of their arts, and the description of their laws; and as for their care about the writing down of their histories, it is very near the last thing they set about. However, they acknowledged themselves so far, that they were the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, and the Phenicians, (for I will not now reckon ourselves among them), that have preserved the memorials of the most ancient and most lasting traditions of mankind; for almost all these nations inhabit such countries as are least subject

to destruction from the world about them; and these also have taken especial care to have nothing omitted of what was [remarkably] done among them; but their history was esteemed sacred, and put into public tables, as written by men of the greatest wisdom they had among them. But as for the place where the Grecians inhabit, ten thousand destructions have overtaken it, and blotted out the memory of former actions; so that they were ever beginning a new way of living, and supposed that every one of them was the origin of their new state. It was also late, and with difficulty, that they came to know the letters they now use; for those that would advance their use of these letters to the greatest antiquity, pretend that they learned them from the Phenicians and from Cadmus; yet is nobody able to demonstrate, that they have any writing preserved from that time, neither in their temples, nor in any other public monuments. This appears, because the time when those lived who went to the Trojan war, so many years afterward, is in great doubt, and great inquiry is made, whether the Greeks used their letters at that time; and the most prevailing opinion, and that nearest the truth is, that their present way of using those letters was unknown at that time. However, there is not any writing which the Greeks agree to be genuine among them ancienter than Homer's poems*, who must plainly be confessed later than the siege of Troy; nay, the report goes, that even he did not leave the poems in writing, but that their memory was preserved in songs, and they were put together afterward, and that this is the reason of such a number of variations as are found in them. As for those who set themselves about writing their histories, I mean such as Cadmus of Miletus, and Acusilaus of Argos, and any others that may be mentioned as succeeding Acusilaus, they lived but a little while before the Persian expedition into Greece. But then for those that first introduced philosophy, and the consideration of things celestial and divine among them, such as Pherecydes the Syrian, and Pythagoras, and Thales, all with one consent agree, that they learned what they knew of the Egyptians and Chaldeans, and wrote but little. And these are the things which are supposed to be the oldest of all among the

* This preservation of Homer's poems by memory, and not by his own writing them down, and that thence they were styled *rhapsodies*, as sung by him, like ballads, by parts, and not composed and connected together in complete works, are opinions well known from the ancient commentators; though such supposal seems to myself, as well as to Fabricius, Biblioth. Græc. I. p. 269. and to others, highly improbable. Nor does Josephus say there was no ancienter writings among the Greeks than Homer's Poems, but that they did not fully own any ancienter writings pretending to such antiquity, which is true.

Greeks, and they made much ado to believe that the writings ascribed to those men are genuine.

3. How can it then be other than an absurd thing for the Greeks to be so proud, and to vaunt themselves to be the only people that are acquainted with antiquity, and that have delivered the true accounts of those early times after an accurate manner? Nay, who is there that cannot easily gather from the Greek writers themselves, that they knew but little on any good foundation when they set to write, but rather wrote their histories from their own conjectures? Accordingly they confute one another in their own books to purpose, and are not ashamed to give us the most contradictory accounts of the same things: and I should spend my time to little purpose, if I should pretend to teach the Greeks that which they know better than I already, what a great disagreement there is between Hellanicus and Acusilaus about their genealogies: in how many cases Acusilaus corrects Hesiod; or after what manner Ephorus demonstrates Hellanicus to have told lies in the greatest part of his history; as does Timeus in like manner as to Ephorus, and the succeeding writers do to Timeus, and all the latter writers do to Herodotus*; nor could Timeus agree with Antiochus and Philistius, or with Callias, about the Sicilian history, no more than do the several writers of the Athidæ follow one another about the Athenian affairs; nor do the historians the like, that wrote the Argolics, about the affairs of the Argives. And now what need I say any more about particular cities and smaller places, while in the most approved writers of the expedition of the Persians, and of the actions which were therein performed, there are so great differences? Nay, Thucydides himself is accused of some as writing what is false, although he seems to have given us the exactest history of the affairs of his own time.

* It well deserves to be considered, that Josephus here says, how all the following Greek historians looked on Herodotus as a fabulous author; and presently, § 14. how Manetho, that most authentic writer of the Egyptian history, greatly complains of his mistakes in the Egyptian affairs; as also that Strabo, B. XI. p. 507. the most accurate geographer and historian, esteemed him such; that Xenophon, the much more accurate historian in the affairs of Cyrus, implies, that Herodotus's accounts of that great man are almost entirely romantic. See the notes on Antiq. B. XI. ch. ii. § 1. Vol. II. and Hutchison's Prolegomena to his edition of Xenophon's Κυρου Παιδεια that we have already seen the note on Antiq. B. VIII. ch. x. 3. how very little Herodotus knew about the Jewish affairs and country, and that he greatly affected what we call the *marvellous*, as Monsieur Rollin has lately and justly determined: whence we are not always to depend on the authority of Herodotus, where it is unsupported by other evidence, but ought to compare the other evidences with his, and, if it preponderate, to prefer it before his. I do not mean by this, that Herodotus wilfully related what he believed to be false, (as Ctesias seems to have done), but that he often wanted evidence, and sometimes preferred what was marvellous, to what was best attested as really true.

4. As for the occasions of so great disagreement of theirs, there may be assigned many that are very probable if any have a mind to make an inquiry about them; but I ascribe these contradictions chiefly to two causes which I will now mention, and still think what I shall mention in the first place, to be the principal of all. For if we remember, that in the beginning the Greeks had taken no care to have public records of their several transactions preserved, this must for certain have afforded those, that would afterward write about these ancient transactions, the opportunity of making mistakes, and the power of making lies also; for this original recording of such ancient transactions hath not only been neglected by the other states of Greece, but even among the Athenians themselves also, who pretend to be *aborigines*, and to have applied themselves to learning, there are no such records extant; nay, they say themselves that the laws of Draco concerning murders, which are now extant in writing, are the most ancient of their public records; which Draco yet lived but a little before the tyrant Pisistratus*. For as to the Arcadians, who make such boasts of their antiquity, what need I speak of them in particular, since it was still later before they got their letters, and learned them, and that with difficulty also?

5. There must, therefore, naturally arise great differences among writers, when they had no original records to lay for their foundation, which might at once inform those who had an inclination to learn, and contradict those that would tell lies. However we are to suppose a second occasion, besides the former, of these contradictions; it is this: That those who were the most zealous to write history were not solicitous for the discovery of truth†, although it was very easy for them always to make such a profession; but their business was to demonstrate that they could write well, and make an impression upon

* About the days of Cyrus and Daniel.

† It is here well worth our observation, what the reasons are that such ancient authors as Herodotus, Josephus, and others, have been read to so little purpose by many learned critics; viz. that their main aim has not been chronology or history, but philology, to know words, and not things, they not much entering oftentimes into the real contents of their authors, and judging which were the most accurate discoverers of truth, and most to be depended on in their several histories, but rather inquiring who wrote the finest style, and had the greatest elegance in their expressions; which are things of small consequence in comparison of the other. Thus you will sometimes find great debates among the learned; whether Herodotus or Thucydides were the finest historians in the Ionic and Attic ways of writing; which signify little as to the real value of each of their histories; while it would be of much moment to let the reader know, that as the consequence of Herodotus's history, which begins so much earlier, and reaches so much wider than that of Thucydides, is therefore vastly greater: so is the most part of Thucydides, which belongs to his own times, and fell under his own observation, much the most certain.

mankind thereby; and in what manner of writing they thought they were able to exceed others, to that did they apply themselves. Some of them betook themselves to the writing of fabulous narrations; some of them endeavoured to please the cities or the kings, by writing in their commendation; others of them fell to finding faults with transactions or with the writers of such transactions, and thought to make a great figure by so doing. And indeed these do what is of all things the most contrary to true history; for it is the great character of true history, that all concerned therein both speak and write the same things; while these men, by writing differently about the same things, think, they shall be believed to write with the greatest regard to truth. We therefore [who are Jews] must yield to the Grecian writers as to language and eloquence of composition; but then we shall give them no such preference as to the verity of ancient history, and least of all as to that part which concerns the affairs of our own several countries.

6. As to the care of writing down the records from the earliest antiquity among the Egyptians and Babylonians; that the priests were intrusted therewith, and employed a philosophical concern about it; that they were the Chaldean priests that did so among the Babylonians, and that the Phenicians, who were mingled among the Greeks, did especially make use of their letters, both for the common affairs of life, and for the delivering down the history of common transactions, I think I may omit any proof, because all men allow it so to be. But now as to our forefathers, that they took no less care about writing such records, (for I will not say they took greater care than the others I spoke of,) and that they committed that matter to their high priests and to their prophets, and that these records have been written all along down to our own times with the utmost accuracy: nay, if it be not too bold for me to say it, our history will be so written hereafter, I shall endeavour briefly to inform you.

7. For our forefathers did not only appoint the best of these priests, and those that attended upon the divine worship, for that design from the beginning, but made provision that the stock of the priests should continue unmixed and pure; for he who is partaker of the priesthood must propagate of a wife of the same nation, without having any regard to money, or any other dignities; but he is to make a scrutiny, and take his wife's genealogy from the ancient tables*, and to procure many witnes-

* Of this accuracy of the Jews before, and in our Saviour's time, in carefully preserving their genealogies all along, particularly those of the priests, see Josephus's Life, sect. 1. Vol. III. This accuracy seems to have ended at the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, or however at that by Adrian.

ses to it. And this is our practice not only in Judea, but wheresoever any body of men of our nation do live; and even there an exact catalogue of our priests marriages are kept; I mean at Egypt and at Babylon, or in any other place of the rest of the habitable earth, whithersoever our priests are scattered; for they send to Jerusalem, the ancient names of their parents in writing, as well as those of their remoter ancestors, and signify who are the witnesses also. But if any war falls out, such as have fallen out a great many of them already, when Antiochus Epiphanes made an invasion upon our country, as also when Pompey the great and Quintillius Varus did so also, and principally in the wars that have happened in our own times; those priests that survive them compose new tables of genealogy out of the old records, and examine the circumstances of the women that remain; for still they do not admit of those that have been captives, as suspecting that they had conversation with some foreigners. But what is the strongest argument of our exact management in this matter is what I am now going to say, That we have the names of our high priests from father to son set down in our records, for the interval of two thousand years; and if any of these have been transgressors of these rules, they are prohibited to present themselves at the altar: or to be partakers of any other of our purifications: and this is justly, or rather necessarily done, because every one is not permitted of his own accord to be a writer, nor is there any disagreement in what is written; they being only prophets that have written the original and earliest accounts of things, as they learned them of God himself by inspiration: and others have written what hath happened in their own times, and that in a very distinct manner also.

8. For we have not an innumerable multitude of books among us, disagreeing from, and contradicting one another, [as the Greeks have], but only twenty-two* books, which contain the records of all the past times; which are justly believed to be divine. And of them five belong to Moses, which contain his laws and the traditions of the origin of mankind till his death. This interval of time from the death of Moses till the reign of Artaxerxes king of Persia, who reigned after Xerxes, the prophets, who were after Moses, wrote down what was done in

* Which were these twenty-two sacred books of the Old Testament, see the Supplement to the Essay on the Old Testament, p. 25—29. viz. those we call *canonical*, all excepting the Canticles; but still with this farther exception, that the first book of *apocryphal* Esdras be taken into that number, instead of our *canonical* Ezra, which seems to be no more than a later epitome of the other; which two books of Canticles and Ezra, it no way appears that our Josephus ever saw.

their times in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God, and precepts for the conduct of human life. It is true, our history hath been written since Artaxerxes very particularly, but hath not been esteemed of the like authority with the former by our forefathers, because there hath not been an exact succession of prophets since that time: and how firmly we have given credit to these books of our own nation, is evident by what we do; for during so many ages as have already passed, no one hath been so bold as either to add any thing to them, to take any thing from them, or to make any change in them; but it is become natural to all Jews, immediately and from their very birth, to esteem those books to contain divine doctrines, and to persist in them, and, if occasion be, willingly to die for them. For it is no new thing for our captives, many of them in number, and frequently in time, to be seen to endure racks and deaths of all kinds upon the theatres, that they may not be obliged to say one word, against our laws and the records that contain them: whereas there are none at all among the Greeks who would undergo the least harm on that account, no, nor in case all the writings that are among them were to be destroyed; for they take them to be such discourses as are framed agreeably to the inclinations of those that write them; and they have justly the same opinion of the ancient writers, since they see some of the present generation bold enough to write about such affairs, wherein they were not present, nor had concern enough to inform themselves about them from those that knew them; examples of which may be had in this late war of ours, where some persons have written histories, and published them, without having been in the places concerned, or having been near them when the actions were done; but these men put a few things together by hearsay, and insolently abuse the world, and call these writings by the name of *Histories*.

9. As for myself, I have composed a true history of that whole war, and of all the particulars that occurred therein, as having been concerned in all its transactions; for I acted as general of those among us that are named Galileans, as long as it was possible for us to make any opposition. I was then seized on by the Romans, and became a captive: Vespasian also and Titus had me kept under a guard, and forced me to attend them continually. At the first I was put into bonds, but was set at liberty afterward, and sent to accompany Titus when he came from Alexandria to the siege of Jerusalem; during which time there was nothing done which escaped my knowledge; for what happened in the Roman camp I saw, and wrote down carefully; and what informations the deserters brought [out of the city], I was the only man that understood them. Afterward I got leisure at

Rome; and when all my materials were prepared for that work, I made use of some persons to assist me in learning the Greek tongue, and by these means I composed the history of these transactions. And I was so well assured of the truth of what I related, that I first of all appealed to those that had the supreme command in that war, Vespasian and Titus, as witnesses for me, for to them I presented those books first of all, and after them to many of the Romans who had been in the war. I also sold them to many of our own men who understood the Greek philosophy; among whom were Julius Archelaus, Herod [king of Chalcis,] a person of great gravity, and king Agrippa himself, a person that deserved the greatest admiration. Now all these men bore their testimony to me, that I had the strictest regard to truth; who yet would not have dissembled the matter, nor been silent, if I, out of ignorance, or out of favour to any side, either had given false colours to actions, or omitted any of them.

10. There have been indeed some bad men, who have attempted to calumniate my history, and took it to be a kind of scholastic performance for the exercise of young men. A strange sort of accusation and calumny this! since every one that undertakes to deliver the history of actions truly, ought to know them accurately himself in the first place, as either having been concerned in them himself, or been informed of them by such as knew them. Now both these methods of knowledge I may very properly pretend to in the composition of both my works; for as I said, I have translated the Antiquities out of our sacred books; which I easily could do, since I was a priest by my birth, and have studied that philosophy which is contained in those writings: and for the History of the War, I wrote it as having been an actor myself in many of its transactions, an eye witness in the greatest part of the rest, and was not unacquainted with any thing whatsoever that was either said or done in it. How impudent then must those deserve to be esteemed, that undertake to contradict me about the true state of those affairs? who, although they pretend to have made use of both the emperor's own memoirs, yet could not they be acquainted with our affairs who fought against them.

11. This digression I have been obliged to make out of necessity, as being desirous to expose the vanity of those that profess to write histories: and I suppose I have sufficiently declared that this custom of transmitting down the histories of ancient times, hath been better preserved by those nations which are called Barbarians, than by the Greeks themselves. I am now willing, in the next place, to say a few things to those that endeavour to prove that our constitution is but of late time, for this reason, as they pretend, that the Greek writers have said nothing about us; after which I shall produce testimonies for our antiquity

out of the writings of foreigners: I shall also demonstrate that such as cast reproaches upon our nation do it very unjustly.

12. As for ourselves, therefore, we neither inhabit a maritime country, nor do we delight in merchandise, nor in such a mixture with other men as arises from it, but the cities we dwell in are remote from the sea, and having a fruitful country for our habitation, we take pains in cultivating that only. Our principal care of all is this, to educate our children well; and we think it to be the most necessary business of our whole life, to observe the laws that have been given us, and to keep those rules of piety that have been delivered down to us. Since, therefore, besides what we have already taken notice of, we have had a peculiar way of living of our own, there was no occasion offered us in ancient ages for intermixing among the Greeks, as they had for mixing among the Egyptians, by their intercourse of exporting and importing their several goods; as they also mixed with the Phenicians, who lived by the sea side, by means of their love of lucre in trade and merchandise. Nor did our forefathers betake themselves, as did some others, to robbery; nor did they, in order to gain more wealth, fall into foreign wars, although our country contained many ten thousands of men of courage sufficient for that purpose. For this reason it was that the Phenicians themselves came soon by trading and navigation to be known to the Grecians, and by their means the Egyptians became known to the Grecians also, as did all those people whence the Phenicians in long voyages over the seas carried wares to the Grecians. The Medes also and the Persians, when they were lords of Asia, became well known to them; and this was especially true of the Persians, who led their armies as far as the other continent [Europe]. The Thracians were also known to them by the nearness of their countries, and the Scythians by the means of those that sailed to Pontus; for it was so in general that all maritime nations, and those that inhabited near the eastern or western seas, became most known to those that were desirous to be writers; but such as had their habitations farther from the sea were for the most part unknown to them: which things appear to have happened as to Europe also, where the city of Rome, that hath this long time been possessed of so much power, and hath performed such great actions in war, is yet never mentioned by Herodotus, nor by Thucydides, nor by any one of their contemporaries; and it was very late, and with great difficulty, that the Romans became known to the Greeks. Nay, those that were reckoned the most exact historians, and Ephorus for one, were so very ignorant of the Gauls and the Spaniards, that he supposed the Spaniards, who inhabit so great a part of the western regions of the earth, to be no more

than one city. Those historians also have ventured to describe such customs as were made use of by them, which they never had either done or said: and the reason why these writers did not know the truth of their affairs, was this, that they had not any commerce together; but the reason why they wrote such falsities was this, that they had a mind to appear to know things which others had not known. How can it then be any wonder, if our nation was no more known to many of the Greeks, nor had given them any occasion to mention them in their writings, while they were so remote from the sea, and had a conduct of life so peculiar to themselves?

13. Let us now put the case, therefore, that we made use of this argument concerning the Grecians, in order to prove that their nation was not ancient, because nothing is said of them in our records: would not they laugh at us all, and probably give the same reasons for our silence that I have now alleged, and would produce their neighbour nations as witnesses to their own antiquity? Now the very same thing will I endeavour to do: for I will bring the Egyptians and the Phenicians as my principal witnesses, because nobody can complain of their testimony as false, on account that they are known to have borne the greatest ill-will towards us: I mean this as to the Egyptians in general all of them, while of the Phenicians it is known the Tyrians have been most of all in the same ill disposition towards us: yet do I confess that I cannot say the same of the Chaldeans, since our first leaders and ancestors were derived from them, and they do make mention of us Jews in their records, on account of the kindred there is between us. Now, when I shall have made my assertions good, so far as concerns the others, I will demonstrate that some of the Greek writers have made mention of us Jews also, that those who envy us may not have even this pretence for contradicting what I have said about our nation.

14. I shall begin with the writings of the Egyptians; not indeed of those that have written in the Egyptian language, which it is impossible for me to do. But Manetho was a man who was by birth an Egyptian, yet he had made himself master of the Greek learning, as is very evident; for he wrote the history of his own country in the Greek tongue, by translating it, as he saith himself, out of their sacred records: he also finds great fault with Herodotus, for his ignorance and false relations of Egyptian affairs. Now this Manetho, in the second book of his Egyptian history, writes concerning us in the following manner. I will set down his very words, as if I were to bring the very man himself into a court for a witness: "There was a king of "ours whose name was *Timaus.* Under him it came to pass, I "know not how, that God was averse to us, and there came,

"after a surprising manner, men of ignoble birth out of the "eastern parts, and had boldness enough to make an expedition "into our country, and with ease subdued it by force, yet with- "out our hazarding a battle with them. So, when they had got- "ten those that governed us under their power, they afterwards "burnt down our cities, and demolished the temple of the gods, "and used all the inhabitants after a most barbarous manner; "nay, some they slew, and led their children and their wives in- "to slavery. At length they made one of themselves king, "whose name was *Salatis;* he also lived at Memphis, and made "both the upper and lower regions pay tribute, and left garri- "sons in places that were the most proper for them. He chief- "ly aimed to secure the eastern parts, as foreseeing that the As- "syrians, who had then the greatest power, would be desirous "of that kingdom, and invade them; and as he found in the "Saite Nomos, [Seth-roite], a city very proper for his purpose, "and which lay upon the Bubastic channel, but with regard to a "certain theologic notion was called *Avaris,* this he rebuilt, and "made very strong by the walls he built about it, and by a most "numerous garrison of two hundred and forty thousand armed "men which he put into it to keep it. Thither Salatis came in "the summer time; partly to gather his corn, and pay his soldiers "their wages, and partly to exercise his armed men; and thereby "to terrify foreigners. When this man had reigned thirteen years, "after him reigned another whose name was *Beon,* for forty- "four years; after him reigned another called *Apachnas,* thirty- "six years and seven months; after him Apophis reigned sixty- "one years, and then Janias fifty years and one month, after "all these reigned Assis forty-nine years and two months. And "these six were the first rulers among them who were all a- "long making war with the Egyptians, and were very desirous "gradually to destroy them to the very roots. This whole na- "tion was styled HYCSOS, that is, *shepherd-kings;* for the first, "styled HYC, according to the sacred dialect, denotes a *king,* as is "SOS, *a shepherd;* but this according to the ordinary dialect; and "of these is compounded HYCSOS: but some say that these people "were Arabians." Now in another copy it is said, that this word does not denote *kings,* but on the contrary denotes *captive shepherds,* and this on account of the particle HYC; for that HYC, with the aspiration, in the Egyptian tongue again denotes *shepherds,* and that expressly also: and this to me seems the more probable opinion, and more agreeable to ancient history. [But Manetho goes on]: "These people, whom we have before "named *kings,* and called *shepherds* also, and their descendants," as he says, "kept possession of Egypt five hundred and eleven "years. After these," he says, "That the kings of Thebais

"and of the other parts of Egypt made an insurrection against "the shepherds, and that there a terrible and long war was made "between them." He says farther, "That under a king, whose "name was *Alisphragmuthosis*, the shepherds were subdued by "him, and were indeed driven out of other parts of Egypt, but "were shut up in a place that contained ten thousand acres: "this place was named *Avaris*." Manetho says, "That the "shepherds built a wall round all this place, which was a "large and a strong wall, and this in order to keep all their "possessions and their prey within a place of strength, but that "Thummossis the son of Alisphragmuthosis made an attempt "to take them by force and by siege, with four hundred and "eighty thousand men to lie round about them; but that, up-"on his despair of taking the place by that siege, they came "to a composition with them; that they should leave Egypt, "and go without any harm to be done to them, whithersoever "they would; and that, after this composition was made, they "went away with their whole families and effects; not fewer in "number than two hundred and forty thousand, and took their "journey from Egypt, through the wilderness, for Syria; but "that as they were in fear of the Assyrians, who had then the "dominion over Asia, they built a city in that country which "is now called *Judea*, and that large enough to contain this great "number of men, and called it *Jerusalem**." Now Manetho, in another book of his, says, "That this nation, thus called *shep-"herds*, were also called *captives* in their sacred books." And this account of his is the truth; for feeding of sheep was the employment† of our forefathers in the most ancient ages; and as they led such a wandering life in feeding sheep, they were called *shepherds*. Nor was it without reason that they were called *captives* by the Egyptians, since one of our ancestors, Joseph, told the king of Egypt that he was a captive‡, and afterward sent for his brethren into Egypt by the king's permission. But as for these matters, I shall make a more exact inquiry about them elsewhere‖.

15. But now I shall produce the Egyptians as witnesses to the antiquity of our nation. I shall therefore here bring in Ma-

* Here we have an account of the first building of the city of Jerusalem, according to Manetho, when the Phenician shepherds were expelled out of Egypt about thirty-seven years before Abraham came out of Haran.

† Gen. xlvi. 33, 34 xlvii. 3, 4.

‡ In our copies of the book of Genesis and of Josephus, this Joseph never calls himself *a captive*, when he was with the king of Egypt, though he does call himself *a servant*, *a slave*, or *a captive*, many times in the Testament of the twelve Patriarchs, under Joseph, sect. 1, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16.

‖ This is now wanting.

netho again, and what he writes as to the order of the times in this case: and thus he speaks: "When this people or shepherds were gone out of Egypt to Jerusalem, Tethmosis the king of Egypt, who drove them out, reigned afterward twenty-five years and four months, and then died: after him his son Chebron took the kingdom for thirteen years; after whom came Amenophis, for twenty years and seven months; then came his sister Amesses, for twenty-one years and nine months; after her came Mephres, for twelve years and nine months; after him was Mephramuthosis, for twenty-five years and ten months; after him was Thmosis, for nine years and eight months; after him came Amenophis, for thirty years and ten months; after him came Orus, for thirty-six years and five months; then came his daughter Acenchres, for twelve years and one month; then was her brother Rathotis, for nine years, then was Acencheres, for twelve years and five months: then came another Acencheres, for twelve years and three months; after him Armais, for four years and one month: after him was Ramesses, for one year and four months; after him came Armesses Miammoun, for sixty years and two months; after him Amenophis, for nineteen years and six months; after him came Sethosis, and Ramesses, who had an army of horse, and a naval force. This king appointed his brother Armais, to be his deputy over Egypt. [In another copy it stood thus: after him came Sethosis, and Ramesses, two brethren, the former of which had a naval force and in an hostile manner destroyed those that met him upon the sea; but as he slew Ramesses in no long time afterwards, so he appointed another of his brethren to be his deputy over Egypt]. He also gave him all the other authority of a king, but with these only injunctions, that he should not wear the diadem, nor be injurious to the Queen, the mother of his children, and that he should not meddle with the other concubines of the king; while he made an expedition against Cyprus, and Phenicia, and besides against the Assyrians and the Medes. He then subdued them all, some by his arms, some without fighting, and some by the terror of his great army; and being puffed up by the great successes he had had, he went still on the more boldly, and overthrew the cities and countries that lay in the eastern parts. But after some considerable time, Armais, who was left in Egypt, did all those very things, by way of opposition, which his brother had forbid him to do, without fear, for he used violence to the Queen, and continued to make use of the rest of the concubines, without sparing any of them: nay, at the persuasion of his friends he put on the diadem, and set up to

"oppose his brother. But then, he who was set over the "priests of Egypt wrote letters to Sethoses, and informed him "of all that had happened, and how his brother had set up to "oppose him: he therefore returned back to Pelusium imme-"diately, and recovered his kingdom again. The country also "was called from his name *Egypt;* for Manetho says, that Se-"thosis was himself called *Egyptus,* as was his brother Armais "called *Danaus**."

16. This is Manetho's account. And evident it is from the number of years by him set down belonging to this interval, if they be summed up together, that these shepherds as they are here called who were no other than our forefathers, were delivered out of Egypt, and came thence, and inhabited this country, three hundred and ninety-three years before Danaus came to Argos; although the Argives look upon him † as their most ancient king. Manetho, therefore, bears this testimony to two points of the greatest consequence to our purpose, and those from the Egyptian records themselves. In the first place, that we came out of another country into Egypt; and that withal, our deliverance out of it was so ancient in time as to have preceded the siege of Troy almost a thousand years†; but then, as to those things which Manetho adds, not from the Egyptian records, but, as he confesses himself, from some stories of an uncertain original, I will disapprove them hereafter particularly, and shall demonstrate that they are no better than incredible fables.

17. I will now, therefore, pass from these records, and come to those that belong to the Phenicians, and concern our nation, and shall produce attestations to what I have said out of them. There are then records among the Tyrians, that take in the history of many years, and these are public writings, and are kept with great exactness, and include accounts of the facts done among them, and such as concern their transactions with other nations also, those I mean which were worth remembering.

* Of this Egyptian Chronology of Manetho, as mistaken by Josephus, and of these Phenician shepherds, as falsely supposed by him, and others after him, to have been the Israelites in Egypt, see Essay on the Old Testament, Appendix page 182, ——188. And note here, that when Josephus tells us that the Greeks or Argives looked on this Danaus as αρχαιοτατος, *a most ancient*, or *the most ancient* king of Argos, he cannot be supposed to mean, in the strictest sense, that they had no one king so ancient as he: for it is certain that they owned nine kings before him, and Inachus at the head of them. See authentic Records, Part II. page 983, as Josephus could not but know very well; but that he was esteemed as very ancient by them, and that they knew they had been first of all denominated *Danai* from this very ancient king Danaus. Nor does this superlative degree always imply the *most ancient* of all without exception, but is sometimes to be rendered *very ancient* only, as is the case in the like superlative degrees of other words also.

† See the preceding note.

Therein it was recorded, that the temple was built by king Solomon at Jerusalem, one hundred forty-three years and eight months before the Tyrians built Carthage; and in their annals the building of our temple is related; for Hirom the king of Tyre, was the friend of Solomon our king, and had such friendship transmitted down to him from his forefathers. He thereupon was ambitious to contribute to the splendour of this edifice of Solomon's, and made him a present of one hundred and twenty talents of gold. He also cut down the most excellent timber out of that mountain which is called *Libanus*, and sent it to him for adorning the roof. Solomon also not only made him many other presents, by way of requital, but gave him a country in Galilee also, that was called *Chabulon**. But there was another passion, a philosophic inclination of theirs, which cemented the friendship that was betwixt them; for they sent mutual problems to one another, with a desire to have them unriddled by each other; wherein Solomon was superior to Hirom, as he was wiser than he in other respects: and many of the epistles that passed between them are still preserved among the Tyrians. Now that this may not depend on my bare word, I will produce for a witness Dius, one that is believed to have written the Phenician history after an accurate manner. This Dius, therefore, writes thus, in his histories of the Phenicians: "Upon the death "of Abibalus, his son Hirom took the kingdom. This king "raised banks at the eastern parts of the city, and enlarged it: "he also joined the temple of Jupiter Olympus, which stood "before on an island by itself, to the city, by raising a causeway "between them, and adorned that temple with donations of gold. "He moreover went up to Libanus, and had timber cut down "for the building of the temples. They say farther, that So-"lomon, when he was king of Jerusalem sent problems to Hi-"rom to be solved, and desired he would send others back for "him to solve, and that he who could not solve the problems "proposed to him, should pay money to him that solved them. "And when Hirom had agreed to the proposals, but was not "able to solve the problems, he was obliged to pay a great deal "of money, as a penalty for the same. As also they relate, that "one Abdemon, a man of Tyre, did solve the problems, and "propose others which Solomon could not solve, upon which "he was obliged to repay a great deal of money to Hirom." These things are attested to by Dius, and confirm what we have said upon the same subjects before.

18. And now I shall add Menander the Ephesian, as an additional witness. This Menander wrote the acts that were done

* 1 Kings ix. 13.

both by the Greeks and Barbarians, under every one of the Tyrian kings, and had taken much pains to learn their history out of their own records. Now, when he was writing about those kings that had reigned at Tyre, he came to Hirom, and says thus: " Upon the death of Abibalus, his son Hirom took " the kingdom; he lived fifty-three years, and reigned thirty-" four. He raised a bank on that called the Broad Place, and " dedicated that golden pillar, which is in Jupiter's temple; he " also went and cut down timber from the mountain called Li-" banus, and got timber of cedar for the roofs of the temples. " He also pulled down the old temples, and built new ones: " besides this, he consecrated the temples of Hercules and of " Astarte. He first built Hercules's temple, in the month Pe-" ritus, and that of Astarte, when he made his expedition a-" gainst the Tityans, who would not pay him their tribute. " and, when he had subdued them to himself, he returned home; " Under this king there was a younger son of Abdemon, who " mastered the problems which Solomon king of Jerusalem had " recommended to be solved." Now the time from this king " to the building of Carthage, is thus calculated: " Upon the " death of Hirom, Beleazarus his son took the kingdom; he " lived forty-three years, and reigned seven years: after him " succeeded his son Abdastartus; he lived twenty-nine years, " and reigned nine years. Now four sons of his nurse plotted " against him and slew him, the eldest of which reigned twelve " years: after them came Astartus, the son of Deleastartus; he " lived fifty-four years, and reigned twelve years: after him " came his brother Aserymus, he lived fifty-four years, and " reigned nine years: he was slain by his brother Pheles, who " took the kingdom and reigned but eight months, though he " lived fifty years; he was slain by Ithobalus, the priest of As-" tarte, who reigned thirty-two years, and lived sixty-eight " years: he was succeeded by his son Badezorus, who lived " forty-five years, and reigned six years: he was succeeded by " Margenus his son: he lived thirty-two years, and reigned " nine years: Pygmalion succeeded him; he lived fifty-six " years, and reigned forty-seven years. Now in the seventh " year of his reign, his sister fled away from him, and built the " city Carthage in Lybia." So the whole time from the reign of Hirom, till the building of Carthage, amounts to the sum of one hundred fifty-five years and eight months. Since then the temple was built at Jerusalem, in the twelfth year of the reign of Hirom, there were from the building of the temple, until the building of Carthage, one hundred forty-three years and eight months. Wherefore, what occasion is there for alleging any more testimonies out of the Phenician histories, [on the

behalf of our nation], since what I have said is so thoroughly confirmed already? And to be sure our ancestors came into this country long before the building of the temple; for it was not till we had gotten possession of the whole land by war, that we built our temple. And this is the point that I have clearly proved out of our sacred writings in my Antiquities.

19. I will now relate what hath been written concerning us in the Chaldean histories, which records have a great agreement with our books in other things also. Berosus shall be witness to what I say: he was by birth a Chaldean, well known by the learned on account of his publication of the Chaldean books of astronomy and philosophy among the Greeks. This Berosus, therefore, following the most ancient records of that nation, gives us an history of the deluge of waters that then happened, and of the destruction of mankind thereby, and agrees with Moses's narration thereof. He also gives us an account of that ark wherein Noah the origin of our race, was preserved, when it was brought to the highest part of the Armenian mountains: after which he gives us a catalogue of the posterity of Noah, and adds the years of their chronology, and at length comes down to Nabolassar, who was king of Babylon, and of the Chaldeans. And when he was relating the acts of this king, he describes to us, "How he sent his son Nabuchodonosor against "Egypt, and against our land, with a great army, upon his "being informed that they had revolted from him: and how, "by that means he subdued them all, and set our temple that "was at Jerusalem on fire; nay, and removed our people en-"tirely out of their own country, and transferred them to Ba-"bylon; when it so happened that our city was desolate, dur-"ing the interval of seventy years, until the days of Cyrus "king of Persia." He then says, That "this Babylonian king "conquered Egypt, and Syria, and Phenicia, and Arabia, and "exceeded in his exploits all that had reigned before him in "Babylon and Chaldea." A little after which Berosus subjoins what follows in his history of ancient times: I will set down Berosus's own accounts, which are these: "When Na-"bolasser, father of Nabuchodonosor, heard that the governor "whom he had set over Egypt and over the parts of Celesyria "and Phenicia, had revolted from him, he was not able to bear "it any longer, but committing certain parts of his army to "his son Nabuchodonosor, who was then but young, he sent "him against the rebel: Nabuchodonosor joined battle with "him, and conquered him, and reduced the country under his "dominion again. Now it so fell out, that his father Nabo-"lasser fell into a distemper at this time, and died in the city of "Babylon, after he had reigned twenty-nine years. But as

" he understood in a little time, that his father Nabolassar was dead, he set the affairs of Egypt, and the other countries, in order, and committed the captives he had taken from the Jews and Phenicians, and Syrians, and of the nations belonging to Egypt, to some of his friends, that they might conduct that part of the forces that had on heavy armour, with the rest of his baggage, to Babylonia; while he went in haste, having but a few with him, over the desert to Babylon; whether when he was come, he found the public affairs had been managed by the Chaldeans, and that the principal person among them had preserved the kingdom for him. Accordingly he now entirely obtained all his father's dominions. He then came, and ordered the captives to be placed as colonies in the most proper places of Babylonia: but for himself, he adorned the temple of Belus, and the other temples after an elegant manner, out of the spoils he had taken in this war. He also rebuilt the old city, and added another to it on the outside, and so far restored Babylon, that none who would besiege it afterwards might have it in their power to divert the river, so as to facilitate an entrance into it; and this he did by building three walls about the inner city, and three about the outer. Some of these walls he built of burnt brick and bitumen, and some of brick only. So when he had thus fortified the city with walls, after an excellent manner, and had adorned the gates magnificently, he added a new palace to that which his father had dwelt in, and this close by it also, and that more eminent in its height, and in its great splendour; it would perhaps require too long a narration, if any one were to describe it: however, as prodigious large, and as magnificent as it was, it was finished in fifteen days. Now in this palace he erected very high walks, supported by stone pillars, and by planting what was called a *pensile paradise*, and replenishing it with all sorts of trees, he rendered the prospect an exact resemblance of a mountainous country. This he did to please his queen, because she had been brought up in Media, and was fond of a mountainous situation."*

20. This is what Berosus relates concerning the forementioned king, as he relates many other things about him also in the third book of his Chaldean history; wherein he complains of the Grecian writers for supposing, without any foundation, that Babylon was built by Semiramis * queen of Assyria, and for her false

* The great improvements that Nebuchadnezzar made in the buildings at Babylon, do no way contradict those ancient and authentic testimonies which ascribe its first building to Nimrod, and its first rebuilding to Semiramis, as Berosus seems here to suppose.

pretence to those wonderful edifices thereto, relating as if they were her own workmanship; as indeed in these affairs the Chaldean history cannot but be the most credible. Moreover, we meet with a confirmation of what Berosus says in the archives of the Phenicians, concerning this king Nebuchodonosor, that he conquered all Syria and Phenicia; in which case Philostratus agrees with the others in that history which he composed, where he mentions the siege of Tyre; as does Megasthenes also, in the fourth book of his Indian history, wherein he pretends to prove that the forementioned king of the Babylonians was superior to Hercules in strength, and the greatness of his exploits; for he says that he conquered a great part of Lybia; and conquered Iberia also. Now as to what I have said before about the temple at Jerusalem, that it was fought against by the Babylonians, and burnt by them, but was opened again when Cyrus had taken the kingdom of Asia, shall be now demonstrated from what Berosus adds farther upon that head; for thus he says in his third book: " Nebuchodonosor, after he had begun to build the forementioned wall, fell sick, and departed this life, when he had " reigned forty-three years; whereupon his son Evilmerodach " obtained the kingdom. He governed public affairs after an " illegal and impure manner, and had a plot laid against him by " Neriglissoor, his sister's husband, and was slain by him when " he had reigned but two years. After he was slain, Neriglis- " soor, the person who plotted against him, succeeded him in the " kingdom, and reigned four years; his son Laborosoarchod ob- " tained the kingdom, though he were but a child, and kept it " nine months, but by reason of the very ill temper and ill " practices he exhibited to the world, a plot was laid against him " also by his friends, and he was tormented to death. After his " death, the conspirators got together, and by common consent " put the crown upon the head of Nabonnedus, a man of Baby- " lon, and one who belonged to that insurrection. In his reign " it was that the walls of the city of Babylon were curiously " built with burnt brick and bitumen; but when he was come " to the seventeenth year of his reign, Cyrus came out of Persia " with a great army, and having already conquered all the rest " of Asia, he came hastily to Babylonia. When Nabonnedus " perceived he was coming to attack him, he met him with his " forces, and joining battle with him, was beaten, and fled away " with a few of his troops with him, and was shut up within " the city Borsippus Hereupon Cyrus took Babylon, and gave " order that the outer walls of the city should be demolished, be- " cause the city had proved very troublesome to him, and cost " him a great deal of pains to take it. He then marched away " to Borsippus, to besiege Nabonnedus; but as Nabonnedus

"did not sustain the siege, but delivered himself into his hands, he was at first kindly used by Cyrus, who gave him Carmania, as a place for him to inhabit in, but sent him out of Babylonia. Accordingly Nabonnedus spent the rest of his time "in that country, and there died."

21. These accounts agree with the true histories in our books: for in them it is written, that Nebuchadnezzar, in the eighteenth year * of his reign, laid our temple desolate, and so it lay in that state of obscurity for fifty years: but that in the second year of the reign of Cyrus its foundations were laid, and it was finished again in the second† year of Darius. I will now add the records of the Phenicians; for it will not be superfluous to give the reader demonstrations more than enow on this occasion. In them we have this enumeration of the times of their several kings: "Nabuchodonosor besieged Tyre for thirteen years, in the days "of Ithobal, their king; after him reigned Ball, ten years; "after him were judges appointed, who judged the people. Ecnibalus, the son of Baslacus, two months; Chelbes, the son "of Abdeus, ten months; Abbar the high priest three months; "Mitgonus and Gerastratus, the sons of Abdelemus, were "judges six years; after whom Balatorus reigned one year; after his death they sent and fetched Merbalus from Babylon, "who reigned four years; after his death they sent for his brother Hirom, who reigned twenty years. Under his reign Cyrus became king of Persia." So that the whole interval is fifty-four years besides three months; for on the seventh year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar he began to besiege Tyre, and Cyrus the Persian took the kingdom on the fourteenth year of Hirom. So that the records of the Chaldeans and Tyrians agree with our writings about this temple; and the testimonies here produced are an indisputable and undeniable attestation to the antiquity of our nation. And I suppose that what I have already said may be sufficient to such as are not very contentious.

22. But now it is proper to satisfy the inquiry of those that disbelieve the records of Barbarians, and think none but Greeks to be worthy of credit, and to produce many of these very Greeks who were acquainted with our nation, and to set before them

* This number in Josephus, that Nebuchadnezzar destroyed the temple in the 18th year of his reign, is a mistake in the nicety of chronology; for it was in the 19th.

† The true number here for the year of Darius, on which the second temple was finished, whether the second with our present copies, or the sixth with that of Syncellus, or the tenth with that of Eusebius, is very uncertain; so we had best follow Josephus's own account elsewhere, Antiq. Book XI. chap. iii. § 4. Vol. II which shews us that according to his copy of the Old Testament, after the 2d of Cyrus, that work was interrupted till the second of Darius, when in seven years it was finished on the ninth of Darius.

such as upon occasion have made mention of us in their own writings. Pythagoras, therefore, of Samos, lived in very ancient times, and was esteemed a person superior to all philosophers in wisdom and piety towards God. Now it is plain that he did not only know our doctrines, but was in very great measure a follower and admirer of them. There is not indeed extant* any writing that is owned for his; but many there are who have written his history, of whom Hermippus is the most celebrated, who was a person very inquisitive into all sorts of history. Now this Hermippus, in his first book concerning Pythagoras, speaks thus: "That Pythagoras, upon the death of one of his "associates, whose name was Calliphon, a Crotoniate by birth, "affirmed that this man's soul conversed with him both night and "day, and enjoined him not to pass over a place where an ass "had fallen down; as also not to drink such waters as caused "thirst again; and to abstain from all sorts of reproaches." After which he adds thus, "This he did and said in imitation "of the doctrines of the Jews and Thracians, which he trans-"ferred into his own philosophy." For it is very truly affirmed of this Pythagoras, that he took a great many of the laws of the Jews into his own philosophy. Nor was our nation unknown of old to several of the Grecian cities, and indeed was thought worthy of imitation by some of them. This is declared by Theophrastus, in his writings concerning laws: for he says, "That the laws of the Tyrians forbid men to swear foreign "oaths." Among which he enumerates some others, and particularly that called *Corbon;* which oath can only be found among the Jews, and declares what a man may call *A thing devoted to God.* Nor indeed was Herodotus of Halicarnassus unacquainted with our nation, but mentions it after a way of his own, when he saith thus, in his second book concerning the Colchians. His words are those: "The only people who were "circumcised in their privy members originally were the Col-"chians, the Egyptians, and the Ethiopians; but the Pheni-"cians, and those Syrians that are in Palestine, confess that they "learned it from the Egyptians. And for those Syrians who "live about the rivers Thermodon and Pathenius, and their "neighbours the Macrones; they say they have lately learned "it from the Colchians; for these are the only people that are "circumcised among mankind, and appear to have done the "very same thing with the Egyptians. But as for the Egyp-

* This is a thing well known by the learned, that we are not secure that we have any genuine writings of Pythagoras: those Golden Verses which are his best remains being generally supposed to have been written not by himself, but by some of his scholars only, in agreement with what Josephus here affirms of him.

"tians and Ethiopians themselves I am not able to say which "of them received it from the other." This therefore is what Herodotus says, "That the Syrians that are in Palestine are cir-"cumcised." But there are no inhabitants of Palestine that are circumcised excepting the Jews; and therefore it must be his knowledge of them that enabled him to speak so much concerning them. Cherilus * also, a still ancienter writer, and a poet, makes mention of our nation, and informs us that it came to the assistance of king Xerxes, in his expedition against Greece. For in his enumeration of all those nations he last of all inserts ours among the rest, when he says,

"At the last there passed over a people, wonderful to be be-"held, for they spake the Phenician tongue with their mouths; "they dwelt in the Solymean mountains, near a broad lake: "their heads were sooty, they had round rasures on them; their "heads and faces were like nasty horse' heads also that had been "hardened in the smoke."

I think, therefore, that it is evident to every body, that Cherilus means us, because the Solymean mountains are in our country, wherein we inhabit, as is also the lake called *Asphaltitis;* for this is a broader and larger lake than any other that is in Syria: and thus does Cherilus make mention of us. But now that not only the lowest sort of the Grecians, but those that

* Whether these verses of Cherilus, the Heathen poet, in the days of Xerxes, belong to the Solymi in Pisidia, that were near a small lake, or to the Jews that dwelt on the Solymean or Jerusalem mountains, near the great and broad lake Asphaltitis, that were a strange people, and spake the Phenicean tongue, is not agreed on by the learned. It is yet certain that Josephus, here, and Eusebius, Præp. IX. 9. p. 412. took them to be Jews; and I confess I cannot but very much incline to the same opinion. The other Solymi were not a strange people, but Heathen Idolaters, like the other parts of Xerxes's army; and that these spake the Phenicean tongue is next to impossible, as the Jews certainly did; nor is there the least evidence for it elsewhere. Nor was the lake adjoining to the mountains of the Solymi at all large or broad, in comparison of the Jewish lake Asphaltitis; nor indeed were they so considerable a people as the Jews, nor so likely to be desired by Xerxes for his army as the Jews, to whom he was always very favourable. As for the rest of Cherilus's description, That "their heads were sooty: that they had round ra-"sures on their heads: that their heads and faces were like nasty horse' heads, which had been hardened in the smoke:" these aukward characters probably fitted the Solymi of Pisidia no better than they did the Jews in Judea. And indeed this reproachful language, here given these people, is to me a strong indication that they were the poor despicable Jews, and not the Pisidian Solymi celebrated in Homer, whom Cherilus here describes, nor are we to expect that either Cherilus or Hecateus, or any other Pagan writers cited by Josephus and Eusebius made no mistakes in the Jewish history. If by comparing their testimonies with the more authentic records of that nation, we find them for the main to confirm the same, as we almost always do, we ought to be satisfied, and not to expect that they ever had an exact knowledge of all the circumstances of the Jewish affairs, which indeed it was almost always impossible for them to have. See sect. 23.

are had in the greatest estimation for their philosophic improvements among them, did not only know the Jews, but when they lighted upon any of them, admired them also, it is easy for any one to know. For Clearchus, who was the scholar of Aristotle, and inferior to no one of the Peripatetics whomsoever, in his first book, concerning sleep, says, "That Aristotle his master "related what follows of a Jew," and sets down Aristotle's own discourse with him. The account is this, as written down by him: "Now, for a great part of what this Jew said, it would "be too long to recite it: but what includes in it both wonder "and philosophy, it may not be amiss to discourse of. Now, "that I may be plain with thee, Hyperochides, I shall herein "seem to thee to relate wonders, and what will resemble dreams "themselves. Hereupon Hyperochides answered modestly, and "said, For that very reason it is that all of us are very desirous "of hearing what thou art going to say. Then replied Aristotle, "For this cause it will be the best way to imitate that rule of "the rhetoricians, which requires us first to give an account of "the man, and of what nation he was, that so we may not con- "tradict our master's directions. Then said Hyperochides, Go "on, if it so pleases thee. This man then [answered Aristotle] "was by birth a Jew, and came from Celesyria: these Jews are "derived from the Indian philosophers; they are named by the "Indians *Calami*, and by the Syrians *Judæi*, and took their "name from the country they inhabit, which is called *Judea*: "but for the name of their city it is a very aukward one, for "they call it *Jerusalem*. Now this man, when he was hospit- "ably treated by a great many, came down from the upper "country to the places near the sea, and became a Grecian, not "only in his language, but in his soul also; insomuch that "when we ourselves happened to be in Asia about the same "places whether he came, he conversed with us, and with other "philosophical persons, and made a trial of our skill in philo- "sophy; and as he had lived with many learned men, he com- "municated to us more information than he received from us." This is Aristotle's account of the matter, as given us by Clearchus: which Aristotle discoursed also particularly of the great and wonderful fortitude of this Jew in his diet, and continent way of living, as those that please may learn more about him from Clearchus' book itself: for I avoid setting down any more than is sufficient for my purpose. Now, Clearchus said this by way of digression, for his main design was of another nature. But for Hecateus of Abdera, who was both a philosopher, and one very useful in an active life, he was contemporary with king Alexander in his youth, and afterward was with Ptolemy, the son of Lagus; he did not write about the Jewish affairs by the

bye, only, but composed an entire book concerning the Jews themselves, out of which book I am willing to run over a few things, of which I have been treating by way of epitome. And, in the first place, I will demonstrate the time when this Hecateus lived; for he mentions the fight that was between Ptolemy and Demetrius about Gaza, which was fought on the eleventh year after the death of Alexander, and on the hundred and seventeenth olympiad, as Castor says in his history. For when he had set down this olympiad, he says farther, "That on this "olympiad Ptolomy the son of Lagus, beat in battle Deme-"trius, the son of Antigonus, who was named *Poliocretes*, at "Gaza." Now, it is agreed by all, that Alexander died on the hundred and fourteenth olympiad; it is therefore evident, that our nation flourished in his time, and in the time of Alexander. Again, Hecateus says to the same purpose, as follows: "Pto-"lemy got possession of the places in Syria after that battle at "Gaza; and many, when they heard of Ptolemy's moderation "and humanity, went along with him to Egypt, and were will-"ing to assist him in his affairs; one of which (Hecateus says) "was Hezekiah*, the high priest of the Jews; a man of about "sixty-six years of age, and in great dignity among his own "people. He was a very sensible man, and could speak very "movingly, and was very skilful in the management of affairs, "if any other man ever were so; although, as he says, all the "priests of the Jews took tithes of the products of the earth, "and managed public affairs, and were in number not above fif-"teen hundred at the most." Hecateus mentions this Hezekiah a second time, and says, That "as he was possessed of so great "a dignity, and was become familiar with us, so did he take cer-"tain of those that were with him, and explained to them all "the circumstances of their people; for he had all their habita-"tions and polity down in writing." Moreover, Hecateus declares again, "what regard we have for our laws, and that we "resolve to endure any thing rather than transgress them, be-"cause we think it right for us to do so." Whereupon he adds, That "although they are in a bad reputation among their "neighbours, and among all those that come to them, and have "been often treated injuriously by the kings and governors of "Persia, yet can they not be dissuaded from acting but what "they think best; but that when they are stripped on this ac-"count, and have torments inflicted upon them, and they are

* This Hezekiah, who is here called an high priest, is not named in Josephus's catalogue, the real high priest at that time being rather Onias, as Archbishop Usher supposes. However, Josephus often uses the word high priest in the plural number, as living many at the same time. See the note on Antiq. Book XX. ch. viii sect. 8. Vol. III.

"brought to the most terrible kinds of death, they meet them "after an extraordinary manner, beyond all other people, and "will not renounce the religion of their forefathers." Hecateus also produces demonstrations not a few of this their resolute tenaciousness of their laws, when he speaks thus: "Alexander "was once at Babylon, and had an intention to rebuild the tem- "ple of Belus that was fallen to decay, and in order thereto, he "commanded all his soldiers in general to bring earth thither: "but the Jews, and they only, would not comply with that "command; nay, they underwent stripes and great losses of "what they had on this account, till the king forgave them, "and permitted them to live in quiet." He adds farther, "That "when the Macedonians came to them into that country, and de- "molished the [old] temples and the altars, they assisted them "in demolishing them all*; but [for not assisting them in re- "building them] they either underwent losses, or sometimes ob- "tained forgiveness." He adds farther, That "these men de- "serve to be admired on that account." He also speaks of the mighty populousness of our nation, and says, "That the Per- "sians formerly carried away many ten thousands of our people "to Babylon, as also that not a few ten thousands were removed "after Alexander's death into Egypt and Phenicia, by reason of "the sedition that was risen in Syria." The same person takes notice in his history, how large the country is in which we inhabit, as well as of its excellent character, and says, "That the land "in which the Jews inhabit contains three millions of auroræ†,

* So I read the text with Havercamp, though the place be difficult.

† This number of auroræ or Egyptian acres, 3,000,000, each auroræ containing a square of 100 Egyptian cubits, (being about three quarters of an English acre, and just twice the area of the court of the Jewish tabernacle) as contained in the country of Judea, will be about one third of the entire number of auroræ in the whole land of Judea, supposing it 160 measured miles long, and seventy such miles broad; which estimation, for the fruitful parts of it, as perhaps here in Hecateus, is not therefore very wide from the truth. The fifty furlongs in compass for the city Jerusalem presently are not very wide from the truth also, as Josephus himself describes it, who, Of the War, Book V. ch. iv. § 3. Vol. IV. makes its wall 33 furlongs, besides the suburbs and gardens; nay, he says, Book V. ch. xii. § 2. That Titus's wall about it, at some small distance, after the gardens and suburbs were destroyed, was not less than 39 furlongs. Nor perhaps were its constant inhabitants, in the days of Hecateus, many more than these 120,000, because room was always to be left for vastly greater numbers which came up at the three great festivals; to say nothing of the probable increase in their number between the days of Hecateus and Josephus, which was at least 300 years. But see a more authentic account of some of these measures in my description of the Jewish temples. However, we are not to expect that such heathens as Cherilus or Hecateus, or the rest that are cited by Josephus and Eusebius, could avoid making many mistakes in the Jewish history, while yet they strongly confirm the same history in the general, and are most valuable attestations to those more authentic accounts we have in the Scriptures and Josephus concerning them.

" and is generally of a most excellent and most fruitful soil; " nor is Judea of lesser dimensions." The same man describes our city Jerusalem also itself as of a most excellent structure, and very large, and inhabited from the most ancient times. He also discourses of the multitude of men in it, and of the construction of our temple, after the following manner: " There are many " strong places and villages (says he) in the country of Judea; " but one strong city there is, about fifty furlongs in circumfe- " rence*, which is inhabited by an hundred and twenty thou- " sand men, or thereabout*: they call it *Jerusalem*. There is " about the middle of the city a wall of stone, whose length is " five hundred feet, and the breadth an hundred cubits, with dou- " ble cloisters; wherein there is a square altar, not made of hewn " stone, but composed of white stones gathered together, having " each side twenty cubits long, and its altitude ten cubits. Hard " by it is a large edifice, wherein there is an altar and a candle- " stick both of gold, and in weight two talents: upon these " there is a light that is never extinguished, either by night or " by day. There is no image, nor any thing, nor any dona- " tions therein: nothing at all is there planted, neither grove, " nor any thing of that sort. The priests abide therein both " nights and days, performing certain purifications, and drink- " ing not the least drop of wine while they are in the temple." Moreover, he attests that we Jews went as auxiliaries along with king Alexander, and after him with his successors. I will add farther what he says he learned, when he was himself with the same army, concerning the actions of a man that was a Jew. His words are these: " As I was myself going to the Red Sea, " there followed us a man, whose name was *Mosollam:* he was " one of the Jewish horsemen who conducted us: he was a per- " son of great courage, of a strong body, and by all allowed to " be the most skilful archer that was either among the Greeks " or barbarians. Now this man, as people were in great num- " bers passing along the road, and a certain augur was observing " an augury by a bird, and requiring them all to stand still, in- " quired what they staid for? Hereupon the augur shewed " him the bird from whence he took his augury, and told him " that if the bird staid where he was, they ought all to stand " still; but that if he got up and flew onward, they must go " forward, but that if he flew backward, they must retire again. " Mosollam made no reply, but drew his bow, and shot at the " bird, and hit him and killed him; and as the augur and some " others were very angry, and wished imprecations upon him, " he answered them thus: Why are you so mad as to take

* See the preceding note.

"this most unhappy bird into your hands? for how can this "bird give us any true information concerning our march, who "could not foresee how to save himself; for had he been able "to foreknow what was future, he would not have come to this "place, but would have been afraid lest Mosollam the Jew "should shoot at him, and kill him:" But of Hecateus's testimonies we have said enough: for as to such as desire to know more of them, they may easily obtain them from his book itself. However, I shall not think it too much for me to name Agatharchides, as having made mention of us Jews, though in way of derision at our simplicity, as he supposes it to be; for when he was discoursing of the affairs of Stratonice, "how she "came out of Macedonia into Syria, and left her husband De- "metrius, while yet Seleucus would not marry her as she ex- "pected, but during the time of his raising an army at Baby- "lon, stirred up a sedition about Antioch; and how after that "the king came back, and upon his taking of Antioch, she fled "to Seleucia, and had it in her power to sail away immediate- "ly, yet did she comply with a dream which forbade her so to "do, and so was caught, and put to death." When Agatharchides had premised this story, and had jested upon Stratonice for her superstition, he gives a like example of what was reported concerning us, and writes thus: "There are a people "called *Jews*, and dwell in a city the strongest of all other ci- "ties, which the inhabitants call *Jerusalem*, and are accustom- "ed to rest on every seventh day*; on which times they make "no use of their arms, nor meddle with husbandry, nor take "care of any affairs of life, but spread out their hands in their "holy places, and pray till the evening. Now it came to pass, "that when Ptolemy the son of Lagus came into this city with "his army, that these men, in observing this mad custom of "theirs, instead of guarding the city, suffered their country to "submit itself to a bitter lord; and their law† was openly "proved to have commanded a foolish practice. This accident "taught all other men but the Jews to disregard such dreams "as these were, and not to follow the like idle suggestions de- "livered as a law, when in such uncertainty of human rea- "sonings, they are at a loss what they should do." Now this our procedure seems a ridiculous thing to Agatharchides, but will appear to such as consider it without prejudice a great thing, and what deserved a great many encomiums; I mean, when cer-

* A glorious testimony this of the observation of the Sabbath by the Jews. See Antiq. Book XVI. chap. ii. sect. 4. and chap. vi. sect. 2. Vol. II. of the Life, sect. 54. Vol. III. and War, Book IV. chap. ix. sect 12. Vol. IV.

† Not their law, but the superstitious interpretation of their leaders, which neither the Maccabees nor our blessed Saviour did ever approve of.

tain men constantly prefer the observation of their laws, and their religion towards God before the preservation of themselves and their country.

23 Now that some writers have omitted to mention our nation, not because they knew nothing of us, but because they envied us, or for some other unjustifiable reasons, I think I can demonstrate by particular instances: for Hieronymus, who wrote the history of [Alexander's] successors, lived at the same time with Hecateus, and was a friend of king Antigonus, and president of Syria. Now it is plain, that Hecateus wrote an entire book concerning us, while Hieronymus never mentions us in his history, although he was bred up very near to the places where we live. Thus different from one another are the inclinations of men; while the one thought we deserved to be carefully remembered, as some ill disposed passion blinded the other's mind so entirely, that he could not discern the truth. And now certainly the foregoing records of the Egyptians, and Chaldeans, and Phenicians, together with so many of the Greek writers, will be sufficient for the demonstration of our antiquity. Moreover, besides those forementioned, Theophilus, and Theodotus, and Mnases, and Aristophanes, and Hermogenes, Euhemerus, also, and Conon, and Zopyrion, and perhaps many others, (for I have not lighted upon all the Greek books) have made distinct mention of us. It is true, many of the men before mentioned have made great mistakes about the true accounts of our nation in the earliest times, because they had not perused our sacred books; yet have they all of them afforded their testimony to our antiquity concerning which I am now treating. However Demetrius Phalereus, and the elder Philo, with Eupolemus, have not greatly missed the truth about our affairs: whose lesser mistakes ought therefore to be forgiven them; for it was not in their power to understand our writings with the utmost accuracy.

24. One particular there is still remaining behind of what I at first proposed to speak to, and that is to demonstrate that those calumnies and reproaches, which some have thrown upon our nation, are lies, and to make use of those writers' own testimonies against themselves: and that in general this self-contradiction hath happened to many other authors by reason of their ill-will to some people, I conclude is not unknown to such as have read histories with sufficient care; for some of them have endeavoured to disgrace the nobility of certain nations, and of some of the most glorious cities, and have cast reproaches upon certain forms of government. Thus hath Theopompus abused the city of Athens, Polycrates that of Lacedemon, as hath he that wrote the Tripoliticus (for he is not Theopompus, as is supposed

by some) done by the city of Thebes. Timeus also hath greatly abused the foregoing people and others also: and this ill treatment they use chiefly when they have a contest with men of the greatest reputation; some out of envy and malice, and others, as supposing that by this foolish talking of theirs they may be thought worthy of being remembered themselves: and indeed they do by no means fail of their hopes, with regard to the foolish part of mankind, but men of sober judgment still condemn them of great malignity.

25. Now the Egyptians were the first that cast reproaches upon us; in order to please which nation, some others undertook to pervert the truth, while they would neither own that our forefathers came into Egypt from another country, as the fact was, nor give a true account of our departure thence. And indeed the Egyptians took many occasions to hate us and envy us; in the first place, because our ancestors * had had the dominion over their country, and when they were delivered from them and gone to their own country again, they lived there in prosperity. In the next place, the difference of our religion from theirs hath occasioned great enmity between us, while our way of divine worship did as much exceed that which their laws appointed as does the nature of God exceed that of brute beasts; for so far they all agree through the whole country, to esteem such animals as gods, although they differ one from another in the peculiar worship they severally pay to them. And certainly men they are entirely of vain and foolish minds, who have thus accustomed themselves from the beginning to have such bad notions concerning their gods, and could not think of imitating that decent form of divine worship which we made use of, though, when they saw our institutions approved of by many others, they could not but envy us on that account; for some of them have proceeded to that degree of folly and meanness in their conduct, as not to scruple to contradict their own ancient records, nay, to contradict themselves also in their writings, and yet were so blinded by their passions as not to discern it.

26. And now I will turn my discourse to one of their principal writers, whom I have a little before made use of as a witness to our antiquity; I mean Manetho†. He promised to in-

* The Phenician shepherds whom Josephus mistook for the Israelites. See the note on sect. 16.

† In reading this and the remaining sections of this book, and some parts of the next, one may easily perceive, that our usually cool and candid author Josephus, was too highly offended with the impudent calumnies of Manetho, and the other bitter enemies of the Jews, with whom he had now to deal, and was thereby betrayed into a greater heat and passion than ordinary, and that by consequence he does not hear reason with his usual fairness and impartially; he seems to depart sometimes

terpret the Egyptian history out of their sacred writings, and premised this; That "our people had come into Egypt, many "ten thousands in number, and subdued its inhabitants;" and when he had farther confessed, "That we went out of that "country afterward, and settled in that country which is now "called *Judea*, and there built Jerusalem and its temple." Now thus far he followed his ancient records: but after this he permits himself, in order to appear to have written what rumours and reports passed abroad about the Jews, and introduces incredible narrations, as if he would have the Egyptian multitude, that had the leprosy and other distempers, to have been mixed with us, as he says they were, and that they were condemned to fly out of Egypt together; for he mentions Amenophis, a fictitious king's name, though on that account he durst not set down the number of years of his reign, which yet he had accurately done as to the other kings he mentions; he then ascribes certain fabulous stories to this king, as having in a manner forgotten how he had already related, that the departure of the shepherds for Jerusalem had been five hundred and eighteen years before; for Tethmosis was king when they went away. Now from his days, the reigns of the intermediate kings, according to Manetho, amounted to three hundred ninety-three years, as he says himself, till the two brothers Sethos, and Hermeus; the one of which, Sethos, was called by that other name of *Egyptus*, and the other, Hermeus, by that of *Danaus*. He also says, that Sethos cast the other out of Egypt, and reigned fifty-nine years, as did his eldest son Rhampses reign after him sixty-six years. When Manetho therefore had acknowledged, that our forefathers were gone out of Egypt so many years ago, he introduces his fictitious king Amenophis, and says thus: "This king was desirous to become a spectator of the gods, as had Oras, one of "his predecessors in that kingdom, desired the same before him; "he also communicated that his desire to his namesake Amenophis, who was the son of Papis, and one that seemed to partake of a divine nature, both as to wisdom, and the knowledge "of futurities." Manetho adds, how this namesake of his "told him that he might see the gods, if he would clear the "whole country of the lepers and of the other impure people: "that the king was pleased with this injunction, and got together all that had any defect in their bodies out of Egypt, and

from the brevity and sincerity of a faithful historian, which is his grand character, and indulges the prolixity and colours of a pleader and a disputant: accordingly I confess I always read these sections with less pleasure than I do the rest of his writings, though I fully believe the reproaches cast on the Jews, which he here endeavours to confute and expose, were wholly groundless and unreasonable.

" that their number was eighty thousand; whom he sent to " those quarries which were on the east side of the Nile, that " they might work in them, and might be separated from the " rest of the Egyptians." He says farther, That " there were " some of the learned priests that were polluted with the lep- " rosy; but that still this Amenophis, the wise man and the " prophet, was afraid that the gods would be angry at him and " at the king, if there should appear to have been violence offer- " ed them; who also added this farther, [out of his sagacity " about futurities,] that certain people would come to the as- " sistance of these polluted wretches, and would conquer Egypt, " and keep it in their possession thirteen years: that, however, " he durst not tell the king of these things, but that he left a " writing behind him about all those matters, and then slew " himself, which made the king disconsolate." After which he writes thus *verbatim:* " After those that were sent to work in " the quarries had continued in that miserable state for a long " while, the king was desired that he would set apart the city " Avaris, which was then left desolate of the shepherds, for " their habitation and protection; which desire he granted them. " Now this city according to the ancient theology, was Typho's " city. But when these men were gotten into it, and found the " place fit for a revolt, they appointed themselves a ruler out " of the priests of Heliopolis, whose name was *Osarsiph*, and " they took their oaths that they would be obedient to him in " all things. He then, in the first place, made this law for " them, that they should neither worship the Egyptian gods, " nor should abstain from any one of those sacred animals which " they have in the highest esteem, but kill and destroy them all; " that they should join themselves to no body but to those that " were of this confederacy. When he had made such laws as " these, and many more such as were mainly opposite to the " customs of the Egyptians*, he gave order, that they should " use the multitude of the hands they had in building walls " about their city, and make themselves ready for a war with " king Amenophis, while he did himself take into his friend- " ship the other priests, and those that were polluted with them, " and sent ambassadors to those shepherds who had been driven " out of the land by Tethmosis to the city called *Jerusalem;* " whereby he informed them of his own affairs, and of the state " of those others that had been treated after such an ignominious " manner, and desired that they would come with one consent to

* This is a very valuable testimony of Manetho, that the laws of Osarsiph or Moses were not made in compliance with, but in opposition to the customs of the Egyptians. See the note on Antiq. B. III, ch. viii. § 9, Vol. I.

"his assistance in this war against Egypt. He also promised "that he would in the first place, bring them back to their an- "cient city and country Avaris, and provide a plentiful mainte- "nance for their multitude, that he would protect them and fight "for them as occasion should require, and would easily reduce "the country under their dominion. These shepherds were all "very glad of this message, and came away with alacrity all "together being in number two hundred thousand men; and in "a little time they came to Avaris. And now Amenophis the "king of Egypt, upon his being informed of their invasion, "was in great confusion, as calling to mind what Amenophis "the son of Papis had foretold him: and, in the first place, he "assembled the multitude of the Egyptians, and took counsel "with their leaders, and sent for their sacred animals to him, "especially for those that were principally worshipped in their "temples, and gave a particular charge to the priests distinctly, "that they should hide the images of their gods with the ut- "most care. He also sent his son Sethos, who was also named "*Ramesses*, from his father Rhampses, being but five years old, "to a friend of his. He then passed on with the rest of the "Egyptians, being three hundred thousand of the most warlike "of them, against the enemy, who met them. Yet did he not "join battle with them: but thinking that would be to fight "against the gods, he returned back and came to Memphis, "where he took Apis and the other sacred animals which he "had sent for to him, and presently marched into Ethiopia, to- "gether with his whole army and multitude of Egyptians, for "the king of Ethiopia was under an obligation to him, on which "account he received him, and took care of all the multitude "that was with him, while the country supplied all that was "necessary for the food of the men. He also allotted cities and "villages for this exile, that was to be from its beginning dur- "ing those fatally determined thirteen years. Moreover, he "pitched a camp for his Ethiopian army, as a guard to King "Amenophis, upon the borders of Egypt. And this was the "state of things in Ethiopia. But for the people of Jerusalem, "when they came down together with the polluted Egyptians, "they treated the men in such a barbarous manner, that those "who saw how they subdued the forementioned country, and "the horrid wickedness they were guilty of, thought it a most "dreadful thing; for they did not only set the cities and vil- "ages on fire, but were not satisfied till they had been guilty "of sacrilege, and destroyed the images of the gods, and used "them in roasting of those sacred animals that used to be worship- "ed, and forced the priests and prophets to be the executioners "and murderers of those animals, and then ejected them naked

"out of the country. It was also reported, that the priest, "who ordained their polity and their laws, was by birth of He- "liopolis, and his name *Osarsiph* from Osyris who was the god "of Heliopolis: but that, when he was gone over to these peo- "ple, his name was changed and he was called *Moses*."

27. This is what the Egyptians relate about the Jews, with much more, which I omit for the sake of brevity. But still Manetho goes on, That "after this Amenophis returned back "from Ethiopia with a great army, as did his son Rhampses "with another army also, and that both of them joined battle "with the shepherds and the polluted people, and beat them, "and slew a great many of them, and pursued them to the "bounds of Syria." These and the like accounts are written by Manetho. But I will demonstrate that he trifles, and tells arrant lies, after I have made a distinction which will relate to what I am going to say about him: for this Manetho had granted and confessed that this nation was not originally Egyptian, but that they had come from another country, and subdued Egypt, and then went away again out of it. But that those Egyptians who were thus diseased in their bodies were not mingled with us afterward, and that Moses who brought the people out was not one of that company, but lived many generations earlier, I shall endeavour to demonstrate from Manetho's own accounts themselves.

28. Now, for the first occasion of this fiction, Manetho supposes what is no better than a ridiculous thing; for he says, That "King Amenophis desired to see the gods." What gods I pray did he desire to see? If he meant the gods whom their laws ordained to be worshipped, the ox, the goat, the crocodile, and the baboon, he saw them already; but for the heavenly gods, how could he see them, and what should occasion this his desire? To be sure*, it was because another king before him had already seen them. He had then been informed what sort of gods they were, and after what manner they had been seen, insomuch that he did not stand in need of any new artifice for obtaining this sight. However, this prophet by whose means the king thought to compass his design was a wise man. If so, how came he not to know that such his desire was impossible to be accomplished? for the event did not succeed. And what pretence could there be to suppose, that the gods could not be seen by reason of the people's maims in their bodies or leprosy? for the gods are not angry at the imperfection of bodies, but at wicked practices: and as to eighty thousand lepers, and those in an ill state also, how is it possible to have them gathered to-

* *Gr.* By Jupiter.

gether in one day? nay, how came the king not to comply with the prophet? for his injunction was that those that were maimed should be expelled out of Egypt, while the king only sent them to work in the quarries, as if he were rather in want of labourers, than intended to purge his country. He says farther, That "this prophet slew himself, as foreseeing the anger "of the gods, and those events which were to come upon Egypt "afterward; and that he left this prediction for the king in "writing." Besides, how came it to pass that this prophet did not foreknow his own death at the first? nay, how came he not to contradict the king in his desire to see the gods immediately; how came that unreasonable dread upon him of judgments that were not to happen in his life-time; or what worse thing could he suffer, out of the fear of which he made haste to kill himself? but now let us see the silliest thing of all: The king, although he had been informed of these things and terrified with the fear of what was to come, yet did not he even then eject these maimed people out of his country, when it had been foretold him that he was to clear Egypt of them; but, as Manetho says, "He then, upon their request, gave them that city, "to inhabit, which had formerly belonged to the shepherds, "and was called Avaris; whether, when they were gone in "crowds," he says, "they chose one that had formerly been "priest of Heliopolis; and that this priest first ordained, that "they should neither worship the gods, nor abstain from those "animals that were worshipped by the Egyptians, but should "kill and eat them all, and should associate with nobody but "those that had conspired with them; and that he bound the "multitude by oaths to be sure to continue in those laws; and "that when he had built a wall about Avaris he made war "against the king." Manetho adds also, That "this priest sent "to Jerusalem to invite that people to come to his assistance, and "promised to give them Avaris; for that it had belonged to "the forefathers of those that were coming from Jerusalem, "and that when they were come, they made a war immediately "against the king, and got possession of all Egypt." He says also, That "the Egyptians came with an army of two hundred "thousand men, and that Amenophis, the king of Egypt, not "thinking that he ought to fight against the gods, ran away "presently into Ethiopia, and committed Apis and certain other "of their sacred animals to the priests, and commanded them "to take care of preserving them." He says further, That "the people of Jerusalem came accordingly upon the Egyptians, and overthrew their cities, and burnt their temples, and "slew their horsemen, and in short abstained from no sort of "wickedness nor barbarity: and for that priest who settled their

"polity and their laws," he says, "he was by birth of Helio-"polis, and his name was Osarsiph, from Osiris the god of He-"liopolis, but that he changed his name, and called himself Mo-"ses." He then says, That "on the thirteenth year afterward, "Amenophis, according to the fatal time of the duration of "his misfortunes, came upon them out of Ethiopia with a "great army, and joining battle with the shepherds and with "the polluted people, overcame them in battle, and slew a great "many of them, and pursued them as far as the bounds of "Syria."

29. Now Manetho does not reflect upon the improbability of his lie: for the leprous people, and the multitude that was with them, although they might formerly have been angry at the king, and at those that had treated them so coarsely, and this according to the prediction of the prophet; yet certainly, when they were come out of the mines, and had received of the king a city and a country, they would have grown milder towards him. However, had they ever so much hated him in particular, they might have laid a private plot against himself, but would hardly have made war against all the Egyptians; I mean this on the account of the great kindred they who were so numerous must have had among them. Nay still, if they had resolved to fight with the men, they would not have had impudence enough to fight with their gods: nor would they have ordained laws quite contrary to those of their own country, and to those in which they had been bred up themselves. Yet are we beholden to Manetho, that he does not lay the principal charge of this horrid transgression upon those that came from Jerusalem, but says that the Egyptians themselves were the most guilty, and that they were their priests that contrived these things, and made the multitude take their oaths for doing so. But still, how absurd it is to suppose, that none of these people's own relations or friends should be prevailed with to revolt, nor to undergo the hazards of war with them? while these polluted people were forced to send to Jerusalem, and bring their auxiliaries from thence. What friendship, I pray, or what relation was there formerly between them, that required this assistance? On the contrary, these people were enemies, and greatly differed from them in their customs. He says, indeed, that they complied immediately upon their promising them, that they should conquer Egypt; as if they did not themselves very well know that country out of which they had been driven by force. Now had these men been in want, or lived miserably, perhaps they might have undertaken so hazardous an enterprise, but as they dwelt in an happy city, and had a large country, and one better than Egypt itself, how came it about, that for the sake of those that had of old been

their enemies, of those that were maimed in their bodies, and of those whom none of their own relations would endure, they should run such hazards in assisting them? For they could not foresee that the king would run away from them: on the contrary, he saith himself, That " Amenophis's son had three hun- " dred thousand men with him, and met them at Pelusium." Now, to be sure those that came could not be ignorant of this; but for the king's repentance and flight, how could they possibly guess at it? He then says, That " those who came from Jerusa- " lem, and made this invasion, got the granaries of Egypt into " their possession, and perpetrated many of the most horrid ac- " tions there." And thence he reproaches them, as though he had not himself introduced them as enemies, or as though he might accuse such as were invited from another place for so doing, when the natural Egyptians themselves had done the same things before their coming, and had taken oaths so to do. However, " Amenophis, some time afterward came upon them, and " conquered them in battle, and slew his enemies, and drove them " before him as far as Syria:" And if Egypt were so easily taken by people that came from any place whatsoever, and as if those that had conquered it by war, when they were informed that Amenophis was alive, did neither fortify the avenues out of Ethiopia into it, although they had great advantages for doing it, nor did get their other forces ready for their defence; but that " he followed them over the sandy desert, and slew them as far " as Syria;" while yet it is not an easy thing for an army to pass over that country, even without fighting.

30. Our nation, therefore, according to Manetho, was not derived from Egypt, nor were any of the Egyptians mingled with us. For it is to be supposed that many of the leprous and distempered people were dead in the mines, since they had been there a long time, and in so ill a condition; many others must be dead in the battles that happened afterward, and more still in the last battle and flight after it.

31. It now remains that I debate with Manetho about Moses. Now the Egyptians acknowledge him to have been a wonderful, and a divine person: nay, they would willingly lay claim to him themselves, though after a most abusive and incredible manner, and pretend that he was of Heliopolis, and one of the priests of that place, and was ejected out of it among the rest, on account of his leprosy: although it had been demonstrated out of their records, that he lived five hundred and eighteen years earlier, and then brought our forefathers out of Egypt into the country that is now inhabited by us. But now that he was not subject in his body to any such calamity, is evident from what he himself tells us; for he forbade those that had the leprosy either to con-

tinue in a city, or to inhabit in a village, but commanded that they should go about by themselves with their clothes rent; and declares that such as either touch them, or live under the same roof with them, should be esteemed unclean: nay, more, if any one of their diseases be healed, and he recover his natural constitution again, he appointed them certain purifications, and washings with spring water, and the shaving off all their hair, and enjoins that they shall offer many sacrifices, and those of several kinds, and then at length, to be admitted into the holy city; although it were to be expected that on the contrary, if he had been under the same calamity, he should have taken care of such persons before hand, and have had them treated after a kinder manner, as affected with a concern for those who were to be under the like misfortunes with himself. Nor was it only those leprous people for whose sake he made these laws, but also for such as should be maimed in the smallest part of their body, who yet are not permitted by him to officiate as priests: nay, although any priest, already initiated, should have such a calamity fall upon him afterward, he ordered him to be deprived of his honour of officiating. Now can it then be supposed that Moses should ordain such laws against himself, to his own reproach and damage who so ordained them? Nor indeed is that other notion of Manetho's at all probable, wherein he relates the change of his name, and says, That "he was formerly called *Osarsiph;" and* this a name no way agreeable to the other, while his true name was *Mouses*, and signifies a person who is preserved out of the water, for the Egyptians call water *Muo.* I think, therefore, I have made it sufficiently evident that Manetho, while he followed his ancient records, did not much mistake the truth of the history; but that when he had recourse to fabulous stories, without any certain author, he either forged them himself, without any probability, or else gave credit to some men who spake so out of their ill-will to us.

32. And now I have done with Manetho, I will inquire into what Cheremon says. For he also, when he pretended to write the Egyptian history, sets down the same name for his king that Manetho did, Amenophis, as also of his son Ramesses, and then goes on thus: "The goddess Isis appeared to Amenophis in his "sleep, and blamed him that her temple had been demolished in "the war. But that Phritiphantes, the sacred scribe, said to "him, that in case he would purge Egypt of the men who had "pollutions upon them, he should be no longer troubled with "such frightful apparitions. That Amenophis accordingly "chose out two hundred and fifty thousand of those that were "thus diseased, and cast them out of the country: that Moses "and Joseph were scribes, and Joseph was a sacred scribe, that

" their names were Egyptian originally, that of Moses had been " *Tisithen*, and that of Joseph *Peteseph:* that these two came to " Pelusium, and lighted upon three hundred and eighty thousand " that had been left there by Amenophis, he not being willing " to carry them into Egypt: that these scribes made a league " of friendship with them, and made with them an expedition " against Egypt: that Amenophis could not sustain their attacks, " but fled into Ethiopia, and left his wife with child behind him, " who lay concealed in certain caverns, and there brought forth " a son, whose name was *Messene*, and who, when he was grown " up to a man's estate, pursued the Jews into Syria, being " about two hundred thousand, and then received his father " Amenophis out of Ethiopia."

33. This is the account Cheremon gives us. Now I take it for granted, that what I have said already hath plainly proved the falsity of both these narrations; for had there been any real truth at the bottom, it was impossible that they should so greatly disagree about the particulars. But for those that invent lies, what they write will easily give us very different accounts, while they forge what they please out of their own heads. Now Manetho says, that the king's desire of seeing the gods, was the origin of the ejection of the polluted people; but Cheremon feigns that it was a dream of his own, sent upon him by Isis, that was the occasion of it. Manetho says, that the person who foreshewed this purgation of Egypt to the king, was Amenophis; but this man says it was Phritiphantes. As to the numbers of the multitude that were expelled, they agree exceedingly well*, the former reckoning them eighty thousand, and the latter about two hundred and fifty thousand. Now, for Manetho, he describes these polluted persons as sent first to work in the quarries, and says, that after that the city Avaris was given them for their habitation. As also he relates, that it was not till after they had made war with the rest of the Egyptians, that they invited the people of Jerusalem to come to their assistance; while Cheremon says only, that they were gone out of Egypt, and lighted upon three hundred and eighty thousand men about Pelusium, who had been left there by Amenophis, and so they invaded Egypt with them again; that thereupon Amenophis fled into Ethiopia. But then, this Cheremon commits a most ridiculous blunder in not informing us who this army of so many ten thousands were, or whence they came: whether they were native Egyptians, or whether they came from another country. Nor indeed has this man, who forged a dream from Isis, about the leprous people, assigned the reason why the king would not bring them into

* By way of irony I suppose.

Egypt. Moreover, Cheremon sets down Joseph as driven away at the same time with Moses, who yet died four * generations before Moses, which four generations make almost one hundred and seventy years, besides all this, Ramesses, the son of Amenophis, by Manetho's account, was a young man, and assisted his father in his war, and left the country at the same time with him, and fled into Ethiopia. But Cheremon makes him to have been born in a certain cave, after his father was dead, and that he then overcame the Jews in battle, and drove them into Syria, being in number about two hundred thousand. O the levity of the man! For he had neither told us who this three hundred and eighty thousand were, nor how the four hundred and thirty thousand perished; whether they fell in war, or went over to Ramesses. And, what is strangest of all, it is not possible to learn out of him, who they were whom he calls Jews, or to which of these two parties he applies that denomination, whether to the hundred and fifty thousand leprous people, or to the three hundred and eighty thousand that were about Pelusium. But perhaps it will be looked upon as a silly thing in me to make any larger confutation of such writers as sufficiently confute themselves; for had they been only confuted by other men, it had been more tolerable.

34. I shall now add to these accounts about Manetho and Cheremon, somewhat about Lysimachus, who hath taken the same topic of falsehood with those forementioned, but hath gone far beyond them in the incredible nature of his forgeries: which plainly demonstrates that he contrived them out of his virulent hatred of our nation. His words are these: "The people of the "Jews being leprous and scabby, and subject to certain other "kinds of distempers, in the days of Bocchoris, king of Egypt, "they fled to the temples, and got their food there by begging: "and as the numbers were very great that were fallen under "these diseases, there arose a scarcity in Egypt. Hereupon "Bocchoris, the king of Egypt, sent some to consult the oracle of "[Jupiter] Hammon about this scarcity. The god's answer was "this, That he must purge his temples of impure and impious "men, by expelling them out of those temples into desert places; but as to the scabby and leprous people, he must drown "them and purge his temples, the sun having an indignation at "these men's being suffered to live; and by this means the land "will bring forth its fruits. Upon Bochoris's having received

* Here we see that Josephus esteemed a generation between Joseph and Moses to be about 42 or 43 years; which, if taken between the earlier children, well agrees with the duration of human life in those ages. See Authent. Rec. Part II. pages 906, 1019, 1020.

"these oracles, he called for their priests, and the attendants "upon their altars, and ordered them to make a collection of "the impure people, and to deliver them to the soldiers, to "carry them away into the desert, but to take the leprous peo-"ple, and wrap them in sheets of lead, and let them down into "the sea. Hereupon the scabby and leprous people were drown-"ed, and the rest were gotten together and sent into desert "places, in order to be exposed to destruction. In this case "they assembled themselves together, and took counsel what "they should do, and determined that as the night was coming "on, they should kindle fires and lamps, and keep watch; that "they also should fast the next night and propitiate the gods, "in order to obtain deliverance from them: that on the next "day there was one Moses, who advised them that they should "venture upon a journey, and go along one road till they should "come to places fit for habitation: that he charged them to "have no kind regards for any man, nor give good counsel to "any, but always to advise them for the worst, and to overturn "all those temples and altars of the gods they should meet with: "that the rest commended what he had said with one consent, "and did what they had resolved on, and so travelled over the "desert. But that the difficulties of the journey being over, "they came to a country inhabited, and that there they abused "the men, and plundered and burnt their temples, and then "came into that land which is called *Judea*, and there they built "a city, and dwelt therein, and that their city was named *Hie-"rosyla*, from this their robbing of the temples; but that still, "upon the success they had afterwards, they in time changed "its denomination that it might not be a reproach to them, and "called the city *Hierosolyma*, and themselves *Hierosolomites*."

35. Now this man did not discover nor mention the same king with the others, but feigned a newer name, and passing by the dream and the Egyptian prophet, he brings him to [Jupiter] Hammon, in order to gain oracles about the scabby and leprous people; for he says, That the multitude of Jews were gathered together at the temples. Now it is uncertain whether he ascribes this name to these lepers, or to those that were subject to such diseases among the Jews only; for he describes them as a people of the Jews. What people does he mean? foreigners, or those of that country? Why then dost thou call them Jews, if they were Egyptians? But if they were foreigners, why dost thou not tell us whence they came? And how could it be that, after the king had drowned many of them in the sea, and ejected the rest into desert places, there should be still so great a multitude remaining? Or after what manner did they pass over the desert, and get the land which we now dwell in, and build our

city, and that temple which hath been so famous among all mankind? And besides he ought to have spoken more about our legislator, than by giving us his bare name; and to have informed us of what nation he was, and what parents he was derived from; and to have assigned the reasons why he undertook to make such laws concerning the gods, and concerning matters of injustice with regard to men during that journey. For, in case the people were by birth Egyptians, they would not on the sudden have so easily changed the custom of their country: and in case they had been foreigners, they had for certain, some laws or other which had been kept by them from long custom. It is true, that with regard to those who had ejected them, they might have sworn never to bear good will to them, and might have had a plausible reason for so doing. But if these men resolved to wage an implacable war against all men, in case they had acted as wickedly as he relates of them, and this while they wanted the assistance of all men, this demonstrates a kind of mad conduct indeed; but not of the men themselves, but very greatly so of him that tells such lies upon them.* He hath also impudence enough to say, that a name implying *robbers* of the temples* was given to their city, and that this name was afterward changed. The reason of which is plain, that the former name brought reproach and hatred upon them in the times of their posterity, while, it seems, those that built the city thought they did honour to the city by giving it such a name. So we see that this fine fellow had such an unbounded inclination to reproach us, that he did not understand that robbery of temples is not expressed by the same word and name among the Jews, as it is among the Greeks. But why should a man say any more to a person who tells such impudent lies? However, since this book is arisen to a competent length, I will make another beginning, and endeavour to add what still remains to perfect my design in the following book.

† This is the meaning of *Hierosyla* in Greek, not in Hebrew.

BOOK II.

§ 1. In the former book, most honoured Epaphroditus, I have demonstrated our antiquity, and confirmed the truth of what I have said, from the writings of the Phenicians and Chaldeans, and Egyptians. I have, moreover, produced many of the Grecian writers as witnesses thereto. I have also made a refutation of Manetho and Cheremon, and of certain others of our enemies. I shall now * therefore begin a confutation of the remaining authors who have written any thing against us; although I confess I have had a doubt upon me about Apion† the grammarian, whether I ought to take the trouble of confuting him or not: for some of his writings contain much the same accusations which the others have laid against us, some things that he hath added are very frigid and contemptible, and for the greatest part of what he says, it is very scurrilous, and, to speak no more than the plain truth, it shews him to be a very unlearned person, and what he lays together, looks like the work of a man of very bad morals, and of one no better in his whole life than a mountebank. Yet, because there are a great many men so very foolish, that they are rather caught by such orations, than by what is written with care, and take pleasure in reproaching other men, and cannot abide to hear them commended, I thought it to be necessary not to let this man go off without examination, who had written such an accusation against us, as if he would bring us to make an answer in open court. For I also have observed that many men are very much delighted when they see a man who first began to reproach another, to be himself exposed to contempt on account of the vices he hath himself been guilty of. However, it is not a very easy thing to go over this man's discourse, nor to know plainly what he means; yet does he seem amidst a great confusion and disorder in his falsehoods, to produce, in the first place, such things as resemble what we have examined already, and relate to the departure of our forefathers out of Egypt: and, in the second place, he accuses those Jews that are inhabitants of Alexandria, as, in the third place, he mixes with those things such accusations as concern the sacred purifications, with the other legal rites used in the temple.

2. Now although I cannot but think that I have already demonstrated, and that abundantly more than was necessary, that

* The former part of this second book is written against the calumnies of Apion, and then, more briefly, against the like calumnies of Appollonius Molo. But after that, Josephus leaves off any more particular reply to those adversaries of the Jews, and gives us a large and excellent description and vindication of that theocracy which was settled for the Jewish nation by Moses, their great legislator.

† Called by Tiberius, *Cymbalum Mundi*, The drum of the world.

our fathers were not originally Egyptians, nor were thence expelled, either on account of bodily diseases, or on any other calamities of that sort; yet will I briefly take notice of what Apion adds upon that subject; for in his third book, which relates to the affairs of Egypt, he speaks thus: "I have heard of "the ancient men of Egypt, that Moses was of Heliopolis, and "that he thought himself obliged to follow the customs of his "forefathers, and offered his prayers in the open air, towards "the city walls; but that he reduced them all to be directed "towards sun-rising, which was agreeable to the situation of "Heliopolis: that he also set up pillars instead of gnomons*, "under which was represented a cavity like that of a boat, and "the shadow that fell from their tops fell down upon that cavity, that it might go round about the like course as the sun "itself goes round in the other." This is that wonderful relation which we have given us by this grammarian. But that it is a false one is so plain, that it stands in need of few words to prove it, but is manifest from the works of Moses; for when he erected the first tabernacle to God, he did himself neither give order for any such a kind of representation to be made at it, nor ordain that those that came after him should make such an one. Moreover, when in a future age Solomon built his temple in Jerusalem, he avoided all such needless decorations as Apion hath here devised. He says farther, how "he had heard of the ancient men, that Moses was of Heliopolis." To be sure that was because being a younger man himself, he believed those that by their elder age were acquainted and conversed with him! Now this grammarian as he was, could not certainly tell which was the poet Homer's country no more than he could which was the country of Pythagoras, who lived comparatively but a little while ago: yet does he thus easily determine the age of Moses, who preceded them such a vast number of years as depending on his ancient men's relation, which shews how notorious a liar he was. But then as to this chronological determination of the time when he says he brought the leprous people, the blind and the lame out of Egypt, see how well this most accurate grammarian of ours agrees with those that have written before him. Manetho says, that the Jews departed out of Egypt, in the reign of Tethmosis, three hundred ninety-three years before Danaus fled to Argos: Lysimachus says it was under king Bocchoris, that is, one thousand seven hundred years ago; Molo and some others determined it

* This seems to have been the first dial that had been made in Egypt, and was a little before the time that Ahaz made his [first] dial in Judea, and about Anno 755, in the first year of the seventh olympiad, as we shall see presently. See 2 Kings xx. 11. Isa. xxxviii. 8.

as every one pleased; but this Apion of ours, as deserving to be believed before them, hath determined it exactly to have been in the seventh olympiad, and the first year of that olympiad; the very same year in which he says that Carthage was built by the Phenicians. The reason why he added this building of Carthage was, to be sure, in order, as he thought, to strengthen his assertion by so evident a character of chronology. But he was not aware that this character confutes his assertion; for if we may give credit to the Phenician records as to the time of the first coming of their colony to Carthage, they relate that Hirom their king was above an hundred and fifty years earlier than the building of Carthage, concerning whom I have formerly produced testimonials out of those Phenician records, as also that this Hirom was a friend of Solomon when he was building the temple at Jerusalem, and gave him great assistance in his building that temple; while still Solomon himself built that temple six hundred and twelve years after the Jews came out of Egypt. As for the number of those that were expelled out of Egypt, he hath contrived to have the very same number with Lysimachus, and says they were an hundred and ten thousand. He then assigns a certain wonderful and plausible occasion for the name of *Sabbath*; "for he says, that when the Jews had travelled a six days journey, they had buboes in their groins: and that on this account it was that they rested on the seventh day, as having got safely to that country which is now called Judea; that then they preserved the language of the Egyptians, and called that day the *Sabbath*, for that malady of buboes on their groin was named *sabbatosis* by the Egyptians." And would not a man now laugh at this fellow's trifling, or rather hate his impudence in writing thus? We must, it seems, take it for granted that all these hundred and ten thousand men must have these buboes. But, for certain, if those men had been blind and lame, and had all sorts of distempers upon them, as Apion says they had, they could not have gone one single day's journey: but if they had been all able to travel over a large desert, and besides that to fight and conquer those that opposed them, they had not all of them had buboes on their groins after the sixth day was over; for no such distemper comes naturally and of necessity upon those that travel; but still when there are many ten thousands in a camp together, they constantly march a settled pace [in a day]. Nor is it at all probable that such a thing should happen by chance: this would be prodigiously absurd to be supposed. However, our admirable author Apion had before told us that "they came to Judea in six days time;" and again, That "Moses went up to a mountain that lay between Egypt and "Arabia, which was called *Sinai*, and was concealed there for-

"ty days, and that when he came down from thence, he gave "laws to the Jews." But then, how was it possible for them to tarry forty days in a desert place where there was no water, and at the same time to pass all over the country between that and Judea in the six days? And as for this grammatical translation of the word *Sabbath*, it either contains an instance of his great impudence or gross ignorance; for the words *Sabbo* and *Sabbath* are widely different from one another; for the word *Sabbath* in the Jewish language denotes *rest* from all sorts of work; but the word *Sabbo*, as he affirms, denotes, among the Egyptians, the malady of a *bubo* in the groin.

3. This is that novel account which the Egyptian Apion gives us concerning the Jews departure out of Egypt, and is no better than a contrivance of his own. But why should we wonder at the lies he tells about our forefathers, when he affirms them to be of Egyptian original, when he lies also about himself? for although he was born at Oasis in Egypt, he pretends to be, as a man may say, the top man of all the Egyptians; yet does he forswear his real country and progenitors, and by falsely pretending to be born at Alexandria, cannot deny the pravity of his family; for you see how justly he calls those Egyptians whom he hates and endeavours to reproach, for had he not deemed Egyptians to be a name of great reproach, he would not have avoided the name of an Egyptian himself; as we know that those who brag of their own countries, value themselves upon the denomination they acquire thereby, and reprove such as unjustly lay claim thereto. As for the Egyptians claim to be of our kindred, they do it on one of the following accounts; I mean either as they value themselves upon it, and pretend to bear that relation to us; or else as they would draw us in to be partakers of their own infamy. But this fine fellow Apion seems to broach this reproachful appellation against us [that we were originally Egyptians], in order to bestow it on the Alexandrians as a reward for the privilege they had given him of being a fellow-citizen with them: he also is apprised of the ill-will the Alexandrians bear to those Jews who are their fellow-citizens, and so proposes to himself to reproach them, although he must thereby include all the other Egyptians also; while in both cases he is no better than an impudent liar.

4. But let us now see what those heavy and wicked crimes are, which Apion charges upon the Alexandrian Jews. "They "came (says he) out of Syria, and inhabited near the tempestu-"ous sea, and were in the neighbourhood of the dashing of the "waves." Now, if the place of habitation includes any thing that is reproachful, this man reproaches not his own real country [Egypt], but what he pretends to be his own country Alex-

andria; for all are agreed in this, that the part of that city which is near the sea, is the best part of all for habitation. Now, if the Jews gained that part of the city by force, and have kept it hitherto without impeachment, this is a mark of their valour; but in reality it was Alexander himself that gave them that place for their habitation, when they obtained equal privileges there with the Macedonians. Nor can I devise what Apion would have said, had their habitation been at Necropolis *, and not been fixed hard by the royal palace [as it is]; nor had their nation had the denomination of Macedonians given them till this very day [as they have]. Had this man now read the epistles of king Alexander, or those of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, or met with the writings of the succeeding kings, or that pillar which is still standing at Alexandria, and contains the privileges which the great [Julius] Cæsar bestowed upon the Jews; had this man, I say, known these records, and yet hath the impudence to write in contradiction to them, he hath shewn himself to be a wicked man: but if he knew nothing of these records, he hath shewn himself to be a man very ignorant: nay, when he appears to wonder how Jews could be called *Alexandrians*, this is another like instance of his ignorance: for all such as are called out to be colonies, although they be ever so far remote from one another in their original, receive their names from those that bring them to their new habitations. And what occasion is there to speak of others, when those of us Jews that dwell at Antioch are named *Antiochians*, because Seleucus the founder of that city gave them the privileges belonging thereto? After the like manner do those Jews that inhabit Ephesus and the other cities of Ionia, enjoy the same name with those that were originally born there, by the grant of the succeeding princes: nay, the kindness and humanity of the Romans hath been so great, that it hath granted leave to almost all others to take the same name of *Romans* upon them; I mean not particular men only, but entire and large nations themselves also; for those anciently named *Iberi*, and *Tyrcheni*, and *Sabini*, are now called *Romani*. And if Apion reject this way of obtaining the privilege of a citizen of Alexandria, let him abstain from calling himself an *Alexandrian* hereafter; for otherwise, how can he who was born in the very heart of Egypt be an Alexandrian, if this way of accepting such a privilege of what he would have us deprived, be once abrogated? although indeed these Romans, who are now the lords of the habitable earth, have forbidden the Egyptians to have the privileges of any city whatsoever; while this fine fellow, who is willing to partake of such a privilege himself as he is forbidden

* The burial place for dead bodies as I suppose.

to make use of, endeavours by calumnies to deprive those of it that have justly received it: for Alexander did not therefore get some of our nation to Alexandria, because he wanted inhabitants for this his city, on whose building he had bestowed so much pains; but this was given to our people as a reward, because he had, upon a careful trial, found them all to have been men of virtue and fidelity to him: for, as Hecateus says concerning us, "Alexander honoured our nation to such a degree, that, for the "equity and the fidelity which the Jews had exhibited to him, "he permitted them to hold the country of Samaria free from "tribute. Of the same mind also was Ptolemy the son of La-"gus, as to those Jews who dwelt at Alexandria." For he intrusted the fortresses of Egypt into their hands, as believing they would keep them faithfully and valiantly for him; and when he was desirous to secure the government of Cyrene, and the other cities of Lybia to himself, he sent a party of Jews to inhabit them. And for his successor Ptolemy, who was called *Philadelphus*, he did not only set all those of our nation free, who were captives under him, but did frequently * give money [for their ransom]; and what was his greatest work of all, he had a great desire of knowing our laws, and of obtaining the books of our sacred scriptures; accordingly he desired that such men might be sent him as might interpret our law to him: and in order to have them well compiled, he committed that care to no ordinary persons, but ordained that Demetrius Phalereus, and Andreus, and Aristeas, the first Demetrius, the most learned person of his age, and the others, such as were intrusted with the guard of his body, should take the care of this matter: nor would he certainly have been so desirous of learning our law and the philosophy of our nation, had he despised the men that made use of it, or had he not indeed had them in great admiration.

5. Now this Apion was unacquainted with almost all the kings of those Macedonians whom he pretends to have been his progenitors; who were yet very well affected towards us: for the third of those Ptolemies, who was called *Euergetes*, when he had gotten possession of all Syria by force, did not offer his thank-offerings to the Egyptian gods for his victory, but came to Jerusalem, and according to our own laws, offered many sacrifices to God, and dedicated to him such gifts as were suitable to such

* For πολλάκις, or *frequently*, I would here read πολλὰ, *a great deal of money;* for we indeed read both in Aristeas and Josephus, that this Ptolemy Philadelphus once gave a very great sum of money to redeem above 100,000 Jewish captives, but not of any sums of money which he disbursed on their account at other times, that I know of.

a victory; and as for Ptolemy Philometer and his wife Cleopatra, they committed their whole kingdom to Jews, when Onias and Dositheus, both Jews, whose names are laughed at by Apion, were the generals of their whole army. But certainly, instead of reproaching them, he ought to admire their actions, and return them thanks for saving Alexandria, whose citizen he pretends to be; for when these Alexandrians were making war with Cleopatra the queen, and were in danger of being utterly ruined, these Jews brought them to terms of agreement, and freed them from the miseries of a civil war. "But then (says "Apion) Onias brought a small army afterward upon the city "at the time when Thermus the Roman ambassador was there "present." Yes, do I venture to say, and that he did rightly and very justly in so doing; for that Ptolemy who was called *Physco*, upon the death of his brother Philometer, came from Cyrene, and would have ejected Cleopatra as well as her sons out of their kingdom, that he might obtain it for himself unjustly*. For this cause then it was that Onias undertook a war against him on Cleopatra's account; nor would he desert that trust the royal family had reposed in him in their distress. Accordingly God gave a remarkable attestation to his righteous procedure; for when Ptolemy Physco † had the presumption to fight against Onias's army, and had caught all the Jews that were in the city [Alexandria], with their children and wives, and exposed them naked and in bonds to his elephants, that they might be trodden upon and destroyed, and when he had made those elephants drunk for that purpose, the event proved contrary to his preparations; for these elephants left the Jews who were exposed to them, and fell violently upon Physco's friends, and slew a great number of them: nay, after this Ptolemy saw a terrible ghost, which prohibited his hurting those men: his very concubine, whom he loved so well, some call her *Ithaca*, and others *Irene*, making supplication to him, that he would not perpetrate so great a wickedness. So he complied with her request, and repented of what he either had already done, or was about to do: whence it is well known that the Alexandrian Jews do with good reason celebrate this day, on the account that they had thereon been vouchsafed such an evident deliverance from God. However Apion, the common calumniator of men, hath

* Here begins a great defect in the Greek copy; but the old Latin version fully supplies that defect.

† What error is here generally believed to have been committed by our Josephus in ascribing a deliverance of the Jews to the reign of Ptolemy Physco, the seventh of those Ptolemies, which has been universally supposed to have happened under Ptolemy Philopater, the fourth of them, is no better than a gross error of the moderns, and not of Josephus, as I have fully proved in the Authentic Rec. Part I. p. 200—204. whither I refer the inquisitive reader.

the presumption to accuse the Jews for making this war against Physco, when he ought to have commended them for the same. This man also makes mention of Cleopatra the last queen of Alexandria, and abuses us, because she was ungrateful to us; whereas he ought to have reproved her, who indulged herself in all kinds of injustice and wicked practices, both with regard to her nearest relations and husbands who had loved her, and indeed, in general with regard to all the Romans, and those emperors that were her benefactors: who also had her sister Arsinoe slain in a temple, when she had done her no harm; moreover, she had her brother slain by private treachery, and she destroyed the gods of her country and the sepulchres of her progenitors: and while she had received her kingdom from the first Cæsar, she had the impudence to rebel against his son* and successor: nay, she corrupted Antony with her love tricks, and rendered him an enemy to his country, and made him treacherous to his friends, and [by his means] despoiled some of their royal authority, and forced others in her madness to act wickedly. But what need I enlarge upon this head any farther, when she left Antony in his fight at sea, though he were her husband, and the father of their common children, and compelled him to resign up his government, with the army, and to follow her [into Egypt]: nay, when last of all Cæsar had taken Alexandria, she came to that pitch of cruelty, that she declared she had some hope of preserving her affairs still, in case she could kill the Jews, though it were with her own hand; to such a degree of barbarity and perfidiousness had she arrived. And doth any one think that we cannot boast ourselves of any thing, if, as Apion says, this queen did not at a time of famine distribute wheat amongst us? However, she at length met with the punishment she deserved. As for us Jews, we appeal to the great Cæsar what assistance we brought him, and what fidelity we shewed to him against the Egyptians; as also to the senate and its decrees, and the epistles of Augustus Cæsar, whereby our merits [to the Romans] are justified. Apion ought to have looked upon those epistles, and in particular to have examined the testimonies given on our behalf, under Alexander and all the Ptolemies, and the decrees of the senate, and of the greatest Roman emperors. And if Germanicus was not able to make a distribution of corn to all the inhabitants of Alexandria, that only shews what a barren time it was, and how great a want there was then of corn, but tends nothing to the accusation of the Jews; for what all the emperors have thought of the Alexandrian Jews, is well known; for this distribution of wheat was no otherwise omitted with regard to the Jews, than

* Sister's son, and adopted son.

it was with regard to the other inhabitants of Alexandria. But they still were desirous to preserve what the kings had formerly intrusted to their care, I mean the custody of the river: nor did those kings think them unworthy of having the entire custody thereof, upon all occasions.

6. But besides this, Apion objects to us thus: "If the Jews "(says he) be citizens of Alexandria, why do they not wor- "ship the same gods with the Alexandrians?" To which I give this answer: Since you are yourselves Egyptians, why do you fight it out one against another, and have implacable wars about your religion? At this rate we must not call you all *Egyptians*, nor indeed in general men, because you breed up with great care beasts of a nature quite contrary to that of men, although the nature of all men seems to be one and the same. Now, if there be such differences in opinion among you Egyptians, why are you surprised that those who came to Alexandria from another country, and had original laws of their own before, should persevere in the observance of those laws? But still he charges us with being the authors of sedition: which accusation, if it be a just one, why is it not laid against us all, since we are known to be all of one mind. Moreover, those that search into such matters will soon discover that the authors of sedition have been such citizens of Alexandria as Apion is; for while they were the Grecians and Macedonians who were in possession of this city, there was no sedition raised against us, and we were permitted to observe our ancient solemnities; but when the number of the Egyptians therein came to be considerable, the times grew confused, and then these seditions broke out still more and more, while our people continued uncorrupted. These Egyptians, therefore, were the authors of these troubles, who having not the constancy of Macedonians, nor the prudence of Grecians, indulged all of them the evil manners of the Egyptians, and continued their antient hatred against us; for what is here so presumptuously charged upon us, is owing to the differences that are amongst themselves; while many of them have not obtained the privileges of citizens in proper times, but style those who are well known to have had that privilege extended to them all, no other than foreigners: for it does not appear that any of the kings have ever formerly bestowed those privileges of citizens upon Egyptians, no more than have the emperors done it more lately; while it was Alexander who introduced us into this city at first, the kings augmented our privileges therein, and the Romans have been pleased to preserve them always inviolable. Moreover, Apion would lay a blot upon us, because we do not erect images for our emperors; as if those emperors did not know this before, or stood in need of Apion as their defender;

whereas he ought rather to have admired the magnanimity and modesty of the Romans, whereby they do not compel those that are subject to them to transgress the laws of their countries, but are willing to receive the honours due to them after such a manner as those who are to pay them esteem consistent with piety, and with their own laws; for they do not thank people for conferring honours upon them, when they are compelled by violence so to do. Accordingly, since the Grecians, and some other nations think it a right thing to make images, nay, when they have painted the pictures of their parents, and wives, and children, they exult for joy; and some there are who take pictures for themselves of such persons as were no way related to them: nay, some take the pictures of such servants as they were fond of. What wonder is it then if such as these appear willing to pay the same respect to their princes and lords? But then, our Legislator hath forbidden us to make images, not by way of denunciation before hand, that the Roman authority was not to be honoured, but as despising a thing that was neither necessary nor useful for either God or man; and he forbade them, as we shall prove hereafter, to make these images for any part of the animal creation, and much less for God himself, who is no part of such animal creation. Yet hath our legislator no where forbidden us to pay honours to worthy men, provided they be of another kind, and inferior to those we pay to God; with which honours we willingly testify our respect to our emperors, and to the people of Rome: we also offer perpetual sacrifices for them: nor do we only offer them every day at the common expences of all the Jews, but although we offer no other such sacrifices out of our common expences, no not for our own children, yet do we this as a peculiar honour to the emperors, and to them alone, while we do the same to no other person whomsoever. And let this suffice for an answer in general to Apion as to what he says with relation to the Alexandrian Jews.

7. However, I cannot but admire those other authors who furnished this man with such his materials; I mean Possidonius and Apollonius [the son of] Molo*, who, while they accuse us for not worshipping the same gods whom others worship, they think themselves not guilty of impiety when they tell lies of us, and frame absurd and reproachful stories about our temple; whereas it is a most shameful thing for freemen to forge lies on any occasion, and much more so to forge them about our temple, which was so famous over all the world, and was preserved so sacred by us; for Apion hath the impudence to pretend, "That

* Called more properly *Molo* or *Appollonius Molo*, as hereafter; for Appollonius, the son of Molo, was another person, as Strabo informs us, lib. xiv.

" the Jews placed an ass's head in their holy place," and he affirms, " That this was discovered when Antiochus Epiphanes " spoiled our temple, and found that ass's head there made of " gold, and worth a great deal of money." To this my first answer shall be this, That had there been any such thing among us, an Egyptian ought by no means to have thrown it in our teeth, since an ass is not a more contemptible animal than ***† and goats, and such other creatures, which among them are gods. But besides this answer, I say farther, how comes it about that Apion does not understand this to be no other than a palpable lie, and to be confuted by the thing itself as utterly incredible? For we Jews are always governed by the same laws, in which we constantly persevere: and although many misfortunes have befallen our city, as the like have befallen others, and although Theos [Epiphanes], and Pompey the Great, and Licinius Crassus, and last of all Titus Cæsar, have conquered us in war, and gotten possession of our temple: yet have they none of them found any such thing there, nor indeed any thing but what was agreeable to the strictest piety; although what they found we are not at liberty to reveal to other nations. But for Antiochus [Epiphanes], he had no just cause for that ravage in our temple that he made; he only came to it when he wanted money, without declaring himself our enemy, and attacked us while we were his associates and his friends; nor did he find any thing there that was ridiculous. This is attested by many worthy writers; Polybius of Megalapolis, Strabo of Cappadocia, Nicolaus of Damascus, Timagenes, Castor the chronologer, and Apolodorus‡, who all say that it was out of Antiochus's want of money, that he broke his league with the Jews, and despoiled their temple when it was full of gold and silver. Apion ought to have had a regard to these facts, unless he had himself had either an ass's heart or a dog's impudence; of such a dog I mean as they worship; for he had no other external reason for the lies he tells of us. As for us Jews, we ascribe no honour or power to asses, as do the Egyptians to crocodiles and asps, when they esteem such as are seized upon by the former, or bitten by the latter, to be happy persons, and persons worthy of God. Asses are the same with us which they are with other wise men, viz. creatures that bear the burdens that we lay upon them; but if they come to our threshing floors, and eat our corn, or do not perform what we impose upon them, we

† *Furones* in the Latin, which what animal it denotes does not now appear.

‡ It is great pity that these six Pagan authors, here mentioned to have described the famous prophanation of the Jewish temple by Antiochus Epiphanes, should be all lost; I mean so far of their writings as contained that description; though it is plain Josephus perused them all, as extant in his time.

beat them with a great many stripes, because it is their business to minister to us in our husbandry affairs. But this Apion of ours, was either perfectly unskilful in the composition of such fallacious discourses, or however, when he began [somewhat better], he was not able to persevere in what he had undertaken, since he hath no manner of success in those reproaches he casts upon us.

8. He adds another Grecian fable, in order to reproach us. In reply to which, it would be enough to say, that they who presume to speak about divine worship, ought not to be ignorant of this plain truth, that it is a degree of less impurity to pass through temples, than to forge wicked calumnies of its priests. Now such men as he are more zealous to justify a sacrilegious king, than to write what is just, and what is true about us, and about our temple; for when they are desirous of gratifying Antiochus, and of concealing that perfidiousness and sacrilege which he was guilty of, with regard to our nation, when he wanted money, they endeavour to disgrace us, and tell lies, even relating to futurities. Apion becomes other men's prophet upon this occasion, and says, "That Antiochus found in our temple a bed, "and a man lying upon it, with a small table before him, full of "dainties, from the (fishes of the) sea, and the fowls of the dry "land; that this man was amazed at these dainties thus set before him; that he immediately adored the king upon his coming in, as hoping that he would afford him all possible assistance; that he fell down upon his knees, and stretched out to "him his right hand, and begged to be released; and that when "the king bid him sit down, and tell him who he was, and why "he dwelt there, and what was the meaning of those various "sorts of food that were set before him, the man made a lamentable complaint, and with sighs, and tears in his eyes, gave "him this account of the distress he was in, and said, That he "was a Greek, and that as he went over this province, in order to get his living, he was seized upon by foreigners, on a "sudden, and brought to this temple, and shut up therein, and "was seen by nobody, but was fattened by these curious provisions thus set before him; and that truly at the first such "unexpected advantages seemed to him matter of great joy; "that after a while, they brought a suspicion upon him, and "at length astonishment, what their meaning should be; that at "last he inquired of the servants that came to him, and was by "them informed, that it was in order to the fulfilling a law of "the Jews, which they must not tell him, that he was thus fed; "and that they did the same at a set time every year: that they "used to catch a Greek foreigner, and fat him thus up every "year, and then lead him to a certain wood, and kill him, and

"sacrifice with their accustomed solemnities, and taste of his "entrails, and take an oath upon thus sacrificing a Greek, that "they would ever be at enmity with the Greeks; and that then "they threw the remaining parts of the miserable wretch into "a certain pit." Apion adds farther, "That the man said "there were but a few days to come ere he was to be slain, and "implored Antiochus that, out of the reverence he bore to "the Grecian gods, he would disappoint the snares the Jews "laid for his blood, and would deliver him from the miseries "with which he was encompassed." Now this is such a most tragical fable, as is full of nothing but cruelty and impudence; yet does it not excuse Antiochus of his sacrilegious attempts, as those who write it in his vindication are willing to suppose: for he could not presume before-hand that he should meet with any such thing in coming to the temple, but must have found it unexpectedly. He was therefore still an impious person, that was given to unlawful pleasures, and had no regard to God in his actions. But [as for Apion] he hath done whatever his extravagant love of lying hath dictated to him, as it is most easy to discover by a consideration of his writings: for the difference of our laws is known not to regard the Grecians only, but they are principally opposite to the Egyptians, and to some other nations also: for while it so falls out, that men of all countries come sometimes, and sojourn among us, how comes it about that we take an oath, and conspire only against the Grecians? and that by the effusion of their blood also? Or how is it possible that all the Jews should get together to these sacrifices, and the entrails of one man should be sufficient for so many thousands to taste of them, as Apion pretends? Or why did not the king carry this man, whosoever he was, and whatsoever was his name, (which is not set down in Apion's book), with great pomp back into his own country; when he might thereby have been esteemed a religious person himself, and a mighty lover of the Greeks, and might thereby have procured himself great assistance from all men against that hatred the Jews bore to him. But I leave this matter: for the proper way of confuting fools, is not to use bare words, but to appeal to the things themselves that make against them. Now then, all such as ever saw the construction of our temple of what nature it was, know well enough how the purity of it was never to be profaned; for it had four * several courts, encompassed

* It is remarkable that Josephus here, and, I think, no where else, reckons up four distinct courts of the temple, that of the Gentiles, that of the women of Israel, and that of the men of Israel, and that of the priests; as also that the court of the women admitted of the men, (I suppose only of the husbands of those wives that were therein), while the court of the men did not admit any women into it at all.

with cloisters round about, every one of which had by our law, a peculiar degree of separation from the rest. Into the first court every body was allowed to go, even foreigners, and none but women, during their courses, were prohibited to pass through it; all the Jews went into the second court, as well as their wives, when they were free from all uncleanness; into the third went in the Jewish men when they were clean and purified; into the fourth went the priests, having on their sacerdotal garments; but for the most sacred place, none went in but the high priests, clothed in their peculiar garments. Now there is so great caution used about these offices of religion, that the priests are appointed to go into the temple but at certain hours; for, in the morning, at the opening of the inner temple, those that are to officiate receive the sacrifices, as they do again at noon, till the doors are shut. Lastly, it is not so much as lawful to carry any vessel into the holy house; nor is there any thing therein, but the altar (of incense,) the table (of shew-bread), the censer, and the candlestick, which are all written in the law: for there is nothing farther there, nor are there any mysteries performed that may not be spoken of; nor is there any feasting within the place. For what I have now said is publicly known, and supported by the testimony of the whole people, and their operations are very manifest; for although there be four courses of the priests, and every one of them have above five thousand men in them, yet do they officiate on certain days only; and when those days are over, other priests succeed in the performance of their sacrifices, and assemble together at mid-day, and receive the keys of the temple, and the vessels by tale, without any thing relating to food or drink being carried into the temple; nay, we are not allowed to offer such things at the altar, excepting what is prepared for the sacrifices.

9. What then can we say of Apion, but that he examined nothing that concerned these things, while still he uttered incredible words about them? but it is a great shame for a grammarian not to be able to write true history. Now, if he knew the purity of our temple, he hath entirely omitted to take notice of it; but he forges a story about the seizing of a Grecian, about ineffable food, and the most delicious preparation of dainties; and pretends that strangers could go into a place, whereunto the noblest men among the Jews are not allowed to enter, unless they be priests. This, therefore, is the utmost degree of impiety, and a voluntary lie, in order to the delusion of those who will not examine into the truth of matters. Whereas such unspeakable mischiefs as are above related, have been occasioned by such calumnies that are raised upon us.

10. Nay, this miracle of piety derides us farther, and adds

the following pretended facts to his former fable; for he says, That this man related how "while the Jews were once in a long "war with the Idumeans, there came a man out of one of the "cities of the Idumeans, who there had worshipped Apollo. "This man, whose name is said to have been Zabidus, came to "the Jews, and promised that he would deliver Apollo, the god "of Dora, into their hands, and that he would come to our "temple, if they would all come up with him, and bring the "whole multitude of the Jews with them; that Zabidus made "him a certain wooden instrument, and put it round about him, "and set three rows of lamps therein, and walked after such a "manner, that he appeared to those that stood a great way off "him, to be a kind of star, walking upon the earth: that the "Jews were terribly frightened at so surprising an appearance, "and stood very quiet at a distance; and that Zabidus, while "they continned so very quiet, went into the holy house, and "carried off that golden head of an ass, (for so facetiously does "he write), and then went his way back again to Dora in great "haste." And say you so, Sir? as I may reply; then does Apion load the ass, that is himself, and lays on him a burden of fooleries and lies; for he writes of places that have no being, and not knowing the cities he speaks of, he changes their situation, for Idumea borders upon our country, and is near to Gaza, in which there is no such city as Dora: although there be, it is true, a city named Dora in Phenicia, near mount Carmel, but it is four days journey from Idumea*. Now, then, why does this man accuse us, because we have not gods in common with other nations? If our forefathers were so easily prevailed upon to have Apollo come to them, and thought they saw him walking upon the earth, and the stars with him; for certainly those who have so many festivals, wherein they light lamps, must yet, at this rate, have never seen a candlestick! but still it seems that while Zabidus took his journey over the country, where were so many ten thousands of people, nobody met him. He also, it seems, even in a time of war, found the walls of Jerusalem destitute of guards; I omit the rest. Now the doors of the holy house were seventy † cubits high, and twenty cubits broad, they were all plated over with gold, and almost of solid gold itself, and there were no fewer than twenty || men required to shut them every day; nor was it lawful ever to leave them open, though it seems this lamp-bearer of ours opened them easily,

* Judea, in the Greek, by a gross mistake of the transcribers.

† Seven in the Greek, by a like gross mistake of the transcribers. See of the War, B. V. ch. v. § 4.

‡ Two hundred in the Greek, contrary to the twenty in the War, Book VII. ch. v. § 3.

or thought he opened them, as he thought he had the ass's head in his hand. Whether, therefore, he returned it to us again, or whether Apion took it and brought it into the temple again, that Antiochus might find it, and afford an handle for a second fable of Apion's, is uncertain.

11. Apion also tells a false story, when he mentions an oath of ours, as if we "swore by God, the maker of the heaven, and "earth, and sea, to bear no good will to any foreigner, and par-"ticularly to none of the Greeks." Now this liar ought to have said directly, That "we would bear no good-will to any "foreigner, and particularly to none of the Egyptians." For then his story about the oath would have squared with the rest of his original forgeries, in case our forefathers had been driven away by their kinsmen, the Egyptians, not on account of any wickedness they had been guilty of, but on account of the calamities they were under; for as to the Grecians, we are rather remote from them in place, than different from them in our institutions, insomuch that we have no enmity with them, nor any jealousy of them. On the contrary, it hath so happened, that many of them have come over to our laws, and some of them have continued in their observation, although others of them had not courage enough to persevere, and so departed from them again; nor did any body ever hear this oath sworn by us; Apion, it seems, was the only person that heard it, for he indeed was the first composer of it.

12. However, Apion deserves to be admired for his great prudence, as to what I am going to say, which is this, That "there is a plain mark among us, that we neither have just "laws, nor worship God as we ought to do, because we are not "governors, but are rather in subjection to Gentiles, some-"times to one nation, and sometimes to another; and that our "city hath been liable to several calamities, while their city "(Alexandria) hath been of old time an imperial city, and not "used to be in subjection to the Romans." But now this man had better leave off his bragging, for every body but himself would think, that Apion said what he hath said against himself; for there are very few nations that have had the good fortune to continue many generations in the principality, but still the mutations in human affairs have put them into subjection under others; and most nations have been often subdued, and brought into subjection by others. Now for the Egyptians, perhaps they are the only nation that have had this extraordinary privilege, to have never served any of those monarchs who subdued Asia and Europe, and this on account, as they pretend, that the gods fled into their country, and saved themselves by being chan-

ged into the shape of wild beasts! Whereas these Egyptians * are the very people who appear to have never, in all the past ages had one day of freedom, no not so much as from their own lords. For I will not reproach them with relating the manner how the Persians used them, and this not once only, but many times, when they laid their cities waste, demolished their temples, and cut the throats of those animals whom they esteemed to be gods; for it is not reasonable to imitate the clownish ignorance of Apion, who hath no regard to the misfortunes of the Athenians, or of the Lacedemonians, the latter of which were styled by all men the most courageous, and the former the most religious of the Grecians. I say nothing of such kings as have been famous for piety, particularly of one of them whose name was Cresus, nor what calamities he met with in his life; I say nothing of the citadel of Athens, of the temple at Ephesus, of that at Delphi, nor of ten thousand others which have been burnt down, while nobody cast reproaches on those that were the sufferers, but on those that were the actors therein. But now we have met with Apion, an accuser of our nation, though one that still forgets the miseries of his own people, the Egyptians; but it is that Sesostris, who was once so celebrated a king of Egypt, that hath blinded him; now we will not brag of our kings David and Solomon, though they conquered many nations; accordingly we will let them alone. However, Apion is ignorant of what every body knows, that the Egyptians were servants to the Persians, and afterwards to the Macedonians, when they were lords of Asia, and were no better than slaves, while we have enjoyed liberty formerly; nay more than that, have had the dominion of the cities that lie round about us, and this nearly for an hundred and twenty years together, until Pompeius Magnus. And when all the kings every where were conquered by the Romans, our ancestors were the only people who continued to be esteemed their confederates and friends, on account of their fidelity to them.

* This notorious disgrace belonging peculiarly to the people of Egypt, ever since the times of the old prophets of the Jews, noted both § 4. already, and here, may be confirmed by the testimony of Isidorus, an Egyptian of Pelusium, Epist. lib. I. Cap. 489. And this is a remarkable completion of the ancient prediction of God, by Ezek. xxix. 14, 15. "That the Egyptians should be a base kingdom, the basest "of the kingdoms," and that it "should not exalt itself any more above the nations." The truth of which still farther appears by the present observation of Josephus, that these Egyptians had never, in all the past ages since Sesostris, had one day of liberty, no not so much as to have been free from their despotic power under any of the monarchs to that day. And all this has been found equally true in the latter ages, under the Romans, Saracens, Mamelukes and Turks, from the days of Josephus till the present age also.

13. But, says Apion, "we Jews have not had any wonderful "men amongst us, nor any inventors of arts, nor any eminent "for wisdom." He then enumerates Socrates, and Zeno, and Cleanthes, and some others of the same sort; and, after all, he adds himself to them, which is the most wonderful thing of all that he says, and pronounces Alexandria to be happy, because it hath such a citizen as he is in it; for he was the fittest man to be a witness to his own deserts, although he hath appeared to all others no better than a wicked mountebank, of a corrupt life and ill discourses; on which account one may justly pity Alexandria, if it should value itself upon such a citizen as he is. But as to our own men, we have had those who have been as deserving of commendation as any other whosoever, and such as have perused our Antiquities cannot be ignorant of them.

14. As to the other things which he sets down as blame-worthy, it may perhaps be the best way to let them pass without apology, that he may be allowed to be his own accuser, and the accuser of the rest of the Egyptians. However, he accuses us for sacrificing animals, and for abstaining from swine's flesh, and laughs at us for the circumcision of our privy members. Now, as for our slaughter of tame animals for sacrifices, it is common to us and to all other men: but this Apion, by making it a crime to sacrifice them, demonstrates himself to be an Egyptian; for had he been either a Grecian or a Macedonian, (as he pretends to be), he had not shewed any uneasiness at it; for those people glory in sacrificing whole hecatombs to the gods, and make use of those sacrifices for feasting; and yet is not the world thereby rendered destitute of cattle as Apion was afraid would come to pass. Yet if all men had followed the manners of the Egyptians, the world had certainly been made desolate as to mankind, but had been filled full of the wildest sort of brute-beasts, which, because they suppose them to be gods, they carefully nourish. However, if any one should ask Apion, which of the Egyptians he thinks to be the most wise, and most pious of them all, he would certainly acknowledge the priests to be so; for the histories say, that two things were originally committed to their care by their kings' injunctions, the worship of the gods, and the support of wisdom and philosophy. Accordingly these priests are all circumcised, and abstain from swine's flesh: nor does any one of the other Egyptians assist them in slaying those sacrifices they offer to the gods. Apion was therefore quite blinded in his mind, when, for the sake of the Egyptians, he contrived to reproach us, and to accuse such others as not only make use of that conduct of life which he so much abuses, but have also taught other men to be circumcised, as says Herodotus, which makes me think that Apion is hereby justly punished for his casting such

reproaches on the laws of his own country; for he was circumcised himself of necessity, on account of an ulcer in his privy member; and when he received no benefit by such circumcision, but his member became putrid, he died in great torment. Now men of good tempers ought to observe their own laws concerning religion accurately, and to persevere therein, but not presently to abuse the laws of other nations, while this Apion deserted his own laws, and told lies about ours. And this was the end of Apion's life, and this shall be the conclusion of our discourse about him.

15. But now since Appollonius Molo, and Lysimachus, and some others write treatises about our law-giver Moses, and about our laws, which are neither just nor true, and this partly out of ignorance, but chiefly out of ill-will to us, while they calumniate Moses as an impostor and deceiver, and pretend that our laws teach us wickedness, but nothing that is virtuous: I have a mind to discourse briefly, according to my ability, about our whole constitution of government, and about the particular branches of it. For I suppose it will thence become evident that the laws we have given us are disposed after the best manner for the advancement of piety, for mutual communion with one another, for a general love of mankind, as also for justice, and for sustaining labours with fortitude, and for a contempt of death. And I beg of those that shall peruse this writing of mine, to read it without partiality; for it is not my purpose to write an encomium upon ourselves, but I shall esteem this as a most just apology for us, and taken from those our laws, according to which we lead our lives, against the many and the lying objections that have been made against us. Moreover, since this Appollonius does not do like Apion, and lay a continued accusation against us, but does it only by starts, and up and down his discourse, while he sometimes reproaches us as atheists, and man-haters, and sometimes hits us in the teeth with our want of courage, and yet sometimes, on the contrary, accuses us of too great boldness, and madness in our conduct: nay, he says, that we are the weakest of all the barbarians, and that this is the reason why we are the only people which have made no improvements in human life. Now I think I shall have then sufficiently disproved all these his allegations, when it shall appear that our laws enjoin the very reverse of what he says, and that we very carefully observe those laws ourselves. And if I be compelled to make mention of the laws of other nations, that are contrary to ours, those ought deservedly to thank themselves for it, who have pretended to depreciate our laws in comparison of their own; nor will there, I think, be any room after that for them to pretend, either that we have no such laws ourselves, an epitome of which

I will present to the reader, or that we do not, above all men, continue in the observation of them.

16. To begin then a good way backward; I would advance this in the first place, that those who have been admirers of good order, and of living under common laws, and who began to introduce them, may well have this testimony that they are better than other men, both for moderation, and such virtue as is agreeable to nature. Indeed their endeavour was to have every thing they ordained, believed to be very ancient, that they might not be thought to imitate others, but might appear to have delivered a regular way of living to others after them. Since then, this is the case, the excellency of a legislator is seen in providing for the people's living after the best manner, and in prevailing with those that are to use the laws he ordains for them, to have a good opinion of them, and in obliging the multitude to persevere in them, and to make no changes in them, neither in prosperity nor adversity. Now, I venture to say, that our legislator is the most ancient of all the legislators whom we have any where heard of; for as for the Lycurguses, and Solons, and Zaleucus Locrensis, and all those legislators which are so admired by the Greeks, they seem to be of yesterday, if compared with our legislator, insomuch as the very name of a law was not so much as known in old times among the Grecians. Homer is a witness to the truth of this observation, who never uses that term in all his poems: for indeed there was then no such thing among them, but the multitude was governed by wise maxims, and by the injunctions of their king. It was also a long time * that they continued in the use of these unwritten customs, although they were always changing them upon several occasions. But for our legislator, who was of so much greater antiquity than the rest, (as even those who speak against us upon all occasions do always confess), he exhibited himself to the people as their best governor and counsellor, and included in his legislation the entire conduct of their lives, and prevailed with them to receive it, and brought it so to pass, that those that were made acquainted with his laws did most carefully observe them.

17. But let us consider his first and greatest work: for when it was resolved on by our forefathers to leave Egypt, and return to their own country, this Moses took the many ten thousands that were of the people, and saved them out of many desperate distresses, and brought them home in safety. And certainly it was here necessary to travel over a country without water, and full of sand, to overcome their enemies, and, during these battles,

* *Viz.* After the greatest part of the world had left off their obedience to God, their original legislator. See Scripture politics, page 6, 7.

to preserve their children and their wives, and their prey; on all which occasions he became an excellent general of an army, and a most prudent counsellor, and one that took the truest care of them all; he also so brought it about, that the whole multitude depended upon him. And while he had them always obedient to what he enjoined, he made no manner of use of his authority for his own private advantage, which is the usual time when governors gain great powers to themselves, and pave the way for tyranny, and accustom the multitude to live very dissolutely: whereas, when our legislator was in so great authority he, on the contrary, thought he ought to have regard to piety, and to shew his great good-will to the people; and by this means he thought he might shew the great degree of virtue that was in him; and might procure the most lasting security to those who had made him their governor. When he had therefore come to such a good resolution, and had performed such wonderful exploits, we had just reason to look upon ourselves as having him for a divine governor and counsellor. And when he had first* persuaded himself that his actions and designs were agreeable to God's will, he thought it his duty to impress, above all things, that notion upon the multitude; for those who have once believed that God is the inspector of their lives, will not permit themselves in any sin. And this is the character of our legislator, he was no impostor, no deceiver, as his revilers say, though unjustly, but such an one as they brag Minos † to have been among the Greeks, and other legislators after him: for some of them suppose, that they had their laws from Jupiter, while Minos said, that the revelation of his laws was to be referred to Apollo, and his oracle at Delphi, whether they really thought they were so derived, or supposed

* This language, that Moses πεισας εαυτον *persuaded himself* that what he did was according to God's will, can mean no more by Josephus's own constant notion elsewhere, than that he was *firmly persuaded*, that he had *fully satisfied himself* that so it was, viz. by the many revelations he had received from God, and the numerous miracles God had enabled him to work, as he both in these very two books against Apion, and in his Antiquities most clearly and frequently assures us. This is farther evident from several passages lower, where he affirms, That Moses was no impostor nor deceiver, and where he assures us, that Moses's constitution of government was no other than a theocracy; and where he says, they are to hope for deliverance out of their distresses by prayer to God, and that withal it was owing in part to this prophetic spirit of Moses, that the Jews expected a resurrection from the dead. See almost as strange an use of the like words πεισθειν τον θεον, *to persuade God*, Antiq. B. VI. ch. v. sect. 6. Vol. I.

† That is, Moses really was, what the heathen legislators pretended to be, under a divine direction: nor does it yet appear that these pretensions to a supernatural conduct, either in these legislators or oracles, were mere delusions of men, without any demoniacal impressions, nor that Josephus took them so to be, as the ancientest and contemporary authors did still believe them to be supernatural.

however, that they could persuade the people easily that so it was. But which of these it was that made the best laws, and which had the greatest reason to believe that God was their author, it will be easy, upon comparing those laws themselves together, to determine; for it is time that we come to that point.[]* Now there are innumerable differences in the particular customs and laws that are among all mankind, which a man may briefly reduce under the following heads; some legislators have permitted their governments to be under monarchies, others put them under oligarchies, and others under a republican form; but our legislator had no regard to any of these forms, but he ordained our government to be what, by a strained expression, may be termed a *Theocracy*†, by ascribing the authority and the power to God, and by persuading all the people to have a regard to him, as the author of all the things that were enjoyed either in common by all mankind, or by each one in particular, and of all that they themselves obtained by praying to him in their greatest difficulties. He informed them, that it was impossible to escape God's observation, even in any of our outward actions, or in any of our inward thoughts. Moreover he represented God ‡ as unbegotten, and immutable,

* This whole very large passage from [] to .*., is corrected by Dr. Hudson from Eusebius's citation of it. Præp. Evangel. viii. 8. which is here not a little different from the present MSS. of Josephus.

† This expressionitself, θεοκρατιαν απεδειξε το πολιτευμα, That "Moses ordained the "Jewish government to be a Theocracy," may be illustrated by that parallel expression in the Antiquities, B. III. ch. viii. § 9. Vol. I. That "Moses left it to God to "be present at his sacrifices when he pleased, and when he pleased to be absent." Both ways of speaking sound harsh in the ears of Jews and Christians, as do several others which Josephus uses to the Heathens; but still they were not very improper in him, when he all along thought fit to accommodate himself, both in his Antiquities, and in these his books against Apion, all written for the use of the Greeks and Romans, to their notions and language, and this as far as ever truth would give him leave. Though it be very observable withal, that he never uses such expressions in his books of the War, written originally for the Jews beyond Euphrates, and in their language. In all these cases, however, Josephus directly supposes the Jewish settlement, under Moses, to be a divine settlement, and indeed no other than a real Theocracy.

‡ These excellent accounts of the divine attributes, and that God is not to be at all known in his essence, as also some other clear expressions about the resurrection of the dead, and the state of departed souls, &c. in this late work of Josephus's, looks more like the exalted notions of the Essens, or rather Ebionite Christians, than of a mere Jew or Pharisee. The following large accounts also of the laws of Moses, seem to me to shew a regard to the higher interpretations and improvements of Moses's laws derived from Jesus Christ, rather than to the bare letter of them in the Old Testament, whence alone Josephus took them when he wrote his Antiquities: nor, as I think, can some of these laws, though generally excellent in their kind, be properly now found either in the copies of the Jewish Pentateuch, or in Philo, or in Josephus himself, before he became a Nazarene or Ebionite Christian, nor even all of them among the laws of Catholic Christianity themselves. I desire, therefore,

through all eternity, superior to all mortal conceptions in pulchritude; and, though known to us by his power, yet unknown to us as to his essence. I do not now explain how these notions of God are the sentiments of the wisest among the Grecians, and how they were taught them upon the principles that he afforded them. However, they testify with great assurance, that these notions are just, and agreeable to the nature of God, and to his majesty; for Pythagoras, and Anaxagoras, and Plato, and the stoic philosophers that succeeded them, and almost all the rest are of the same sentiments, and had the same notions of the nature of God; yet durst not these men disclose those true notions to more than a few, because the body of the people were prejudiced with other opinions beforehand. But our legislator, who made his actions agree to his laws, did not only prevail with those that were his contemporaries to agree with these his notions, but so firmly imprinted this faith in God upon all their posterity, that it never could be removed. The reason why the constitution of this legislation was ever better directed to the utility of all, than other legislations were, is this, That Moses did not make religion a part of virtue, but he saw and he ordained other virtues to be parts of religion; I mean justice, and fortitude, and temperance, and an universal agreement of the members of the community with one another; for all our actions and studies, and all our words (in Moses's settlement) have a reference to piety towards God; for he hath left none of these in suspense, or undetermined. For there are two ways of coming at any sort of learning, and a moral conduct of life; the one is by instruction in words, the other by practical exercises. Now other lawgivers have separated these two ways in their opinions, and choosing one of those ways of instruction, or that which best pleased every one of them, neglected the other. Thus did the Lacedemonians, and the Cretians teach by practical exercises, but not by words; while the Athenians, and almost all the other Grecians, made laws about what was to be done, or left undone, but had no regard to the exercising them thereto in practice.

18. But for our legislator, he very carefully joined these two methods of instruction together: for he neither left these practical exercises to go on without verbal instruction, nor did he permit the hearing of the law to proceed without the exercises for practice; but beginning immediately from the earliest in-

the learned reader to consider, whether some of these improvements or interpretations might not be peculiar to the Essens among the Jews, or rather to the Nazarenes or Ebionites among the Christians, though we have indeed but imperfect accounts of these Nazarenes or Ebionite-Christians transmitted down to us at this day.

fancy and the appointment of every one's diet, he left nothing of the very smallest consequence to be done at the pleasure and disposal of the person himself: accordingly he made a fixed rule of law what sorts of food they should abstain from, and what sorts they should make use of, as also what communion they should have with others; what great diligence they should use in their occupations, and what times of rest should be interposed; that, by living under that law as under a father and a master, we might be guilty of no sin, neither voluntary nor out of ignorance; for he did not suffer the guilt of ignorance to go on without punishment, but demonstrated the law to be the best, and the most necessary instruction of all others, permitting the people to leave off their other employments, and to assemble together for the hearing of the law, and learning it exactly, and this not once or twice, or oftener, but every week; which thing all other legislators seem to have neglected.

19. And indeed the greatest part of mankind are so far from living according to their own laws, that they hardly know them; but when they have sinned, they learn from others that they have transgressed the law. Those also who are in the highest and principal posts of the government confess, they are not acquainted with those laws, and are obliged to take such persons for their assessors in public administrations, as profess to have skill in those laws: but for our people, if any body do but ask any one of them about our laws, he will more readily tell them all than he will tell his own name, and this in consequence of our having learned them immediately as soon as ever we became sensible of any thing, and of our having them as it were engraven on our souls. Our transgressors of them are but few, and it is impossible, when any do offend, to escape punishment.

20. And this very thing it is that principally creates such a wonderful agreement of minds amongst us all; for this entire agreement of ours in all our notions concerning God, and our having no difference in our course of life and manners, procures among us the most excellent concord of these our manners that is any where among mankind: for no other people but we Jews have avoided all discourses about God that any way contradict one another, which yet are frequent among other nations: and this is true not only among ordinary persons, according as every one is affected, but some of the philosophers have been insolent enough to indulge such contradictions, while some of them have undertaken to use such words as entirely take away the nature of God, as others of them have taken away his providence over mankind. Nor can any one perceive amongst us any difference in the conduct of our lives, but all our works are common to us all. We have one sort of discourse concerning God, which is

conformable to our law, and affirms that he sees all things; as also we have but one way of speaking concerning the conduct of our lives, that all other things ought to have piety for their end; and this any body may hear from our women and servants themselves.

21. And indeed, hence hath arisen that accusation which some make against us, that we have not produced men that have been the inventors of new operations, or of new ways of speaking; for others think it a fine thing to persevere in nothing that has been delivered down from their forefathers, and these testify it to be an instance of the sharpest wisdom when these men venture to transgress those traditions; whereas we, on the contrary, suppose it to be our only wisdom and virtue to admit no actions nor supposals that are contrary to our original laws; which procedure of ours is a just and sure sign that our law is admirably constituted; for such laws as are not thus well made, are convicted upon trial to want amendment.

22. But while we are ourselves persuaded, that our law was made agreeably to the will of God, it would be impious for us not to observe the same, for what is there in it that any body would change? and what can be invented that is better? or what can we take out of other people's laws that will exceed it? Perhaps some would have the entire settlement of our government altered. And where shall we find a better or more righteous constitution than ours, while this makes us esteem God to be the governor of the universe, and permits the priests in general to be the administrators of the principal affairs, and withal intrusts the government over the other priests to the chief high-priest himself; which priests our legislator, at their first appointment, did not advance to that dignity for their riches, or any abundance of other possessions, or any plenty they had, as the gifts of fortune: but he entrusted the principal management of divine worship to those that exceeded others in an ability to persuade men, and in prudence of conduct. These men had the main care of the law and of the other parts of the people's conduct committed to them: for they were the priests who were ordained to be the spectators of all, and the judges in doubtful cases, and the punishers of those that were condemned to suffer punishment.

23. What form of government then can be more holy than this! what more worthy kind of worship can be paid to God than we pay, where the entire body of the people are prepared for religion, where an extraordinary degree of care is required in the priests; and where the whole polity is so ordered as if it were a certain religious solemnity? For what things foreigners, when they solemnize such festivals, are not able to observe for

a few days time, and call them *mysteries* and *sacred ceremonies*, we observe with great pleasure and an unshaken resolution during our whole lives. What are the things then that we are commanded or forbidden? They are simply and easily known. The first command is concerning God, and affirms that God contains all things, and is a being every way perfect and happy, self-sufficient, and supplying all other beings; the beginning, the middle, and the end of all things. He is manifest in his works and benefits, and more conspicuous than any other being whatsoever; but as to his form and magnitude he is most obscure. All materials, let them be ever so costly, are unworthy to compose an image for him, and all arts are unartful to express the notion we ought to have of him. We can neither see nor think of any thing like him, nor is it agreeable to piety to form a resemblance of him. We see his works, the light, the heaven, the earth, the sun and the moon, the waters, the generations of animals, the productions of fruits. These things hath God made, not with hands, not with labour, nor as wanting the assistance of any to co-operate with him; but as his will resolved they should be made and be good also, they were made, and became good immediately. All men ought to follow this being, and to worship him in the exercise of virtue; for this way of worship of God is the most holy of all others.

24. There ought also to be but One Temple for One God; for likeness is the constant foundation of agreement. This temple ought to be common to all men, because he is the common God of all men. His priests are to be continually about his worship, over whom he that is the first by his birth is to be their ruler perpetually. His business must be to offer sacrifices to God, together with those priests that are joined with him, to see that the laws be observed, to determine controversies, and to punish those that are convicted of injustice; while he that does not submit to him shall be subject to the same punishment as if he had been guilty of impiety towards God himself. When we offer sacrifices to him, we do it not in order to surfeit ourselves or be drunken; for such excesses are against the will of God, and would be an occasion of injuries and of luxury; but by keeping ourselves sober, orderly and ready for our other occupations, and being more temperate than others. And for our duty at the sacrifices themselves, we ought, in the first place, to pray * for the common welfare of them all, and after that our

* We may here observe how known a thing it was among the Jews and heathens in this and many other instances, that sacrifices were still accompanied with prayers; whence most probably came those phrases of "the sacrifice of prayer, the sacrifice of "praise, the sacrifice of thanksgiving." However those ancient forms used at sacri-

own: for we are made for fellowship one with another, and he who prefers the common good before what is peculiar to himself is above all acceptable to God. And let our prayers and supplications be made humbly to God, not [so much] that he would give us what is good, (for he hath already given that of his own accord, and hath proposed the same publicly to all), as that we may duly receive it, and when we have received it, may preserve it. Now the law has appointed several purifications at our sacrifices, whereby we are cleansed after a funeral, after what sometimes happens to us in bed, and after accompanying with our wives, and upon many other occasions which it would be too long now to set down. And this is our doctrine concerning God and his worship, and is the same that the law appoints for our practice.

25. But then, what are our laws about marriage? That law owns no other mixture of sexes but that which nature hath appointed, of a man with his wife, and that this be used only for the procreation of children. But it abhors the mixture of a male with a male; and if any one do that, death is its punishment. It commands us also, when we marry, not to have regard to portion, nor to take a woman by violence, nor to persuade her deceitfully and knavishly, but to demand her in marriage of him who hath power to dispose of her, and is fit to give her away by the nearness of his kindred; for says the Scripture, *A woman is inferior to her husband in all things*†. Let her, therefore, be obedient to him; not so, that he should abuse her, but that she may acknowledge her duty to her husband; for God hath given the authority to the husband. An husband, therefore, is to lie only with his wife whom he hath married; but to have to do with another man's wife is a wicked thing, which, if any one ventures upon, death is inevitably his punishment: no more can he avoid the same, who forces a virgin betrothed to another man, or entices another man's wife. The law, moreover, enjoins us to bring up all our offspring, and forbids women to cause abortion of what is begotten, or to destroy it afterward; and if any woman appears to have so done, she will be a murderer of her child, by destroying a living creature, and diminishing human kind; if any one therefore, proceeds to such fornication or murder he cannot be clean. Moreover, the law enjoins that

fices are now generally lost, to the no small damage of true religion. It is here also exceeding remarkable that although the temple at Jerusalem was built as the only place where the whole nation of the Jews were to offer their sacrifices, yet there is no mention of the *sacrifices* themselves, but of *prayers* only, in Solomon's long and famous form of devotion at its dedication, 1 Kings viii. 2 Chron. vi. See also many passages cited in the Apostolical Constitutions, VII. 37. and of the War above, B. VII. ch. v. § 6, vol. IV.

† This text is no where in our present copies of the Old Testament.

after the man and wife have lain together in a regular way, they shall bathe themselves; for there is a defilement contracted thereby, both in soul and body, as if they had gone into another country; for indeed the soul, by being united to the body, is subject to miseries, and is not freed therefrom again but by death; on which account the law requires this purification to be entirely performed.

26. Nay indeed, the law does not permit us to make festivals at the births of our children, and thereby afford occasion of drinking to excess: but it ordains, that the very beginning of our education should be immediately directed to sobriety. It also commands us to bring those children up in learning, and to exercise them in the laws, and make them acquainted with the acts of their predecessors, in order to their imitation of them, and that they might be nourished up in the laws from their infancy, and might neither transgress them, nor have any pretence for their ignorance of them.

27. Our law hath also taken care of the decent burial of the dead, but without any extravagant expences for their funerals, and without the erection of any illustrious monuments for them; but hath ordered that their nearest relations should perform their obsequies; and hath shewed it to be regular, that all who pass by when any one is buried should accompany the funeral, and join in the lamentation. It also ordains, that the house and its inhabitants should be purified after the funeral is over, that every one may thence learn to keep at a great distance from the thoughts of being pure, if he hath once been guilty of murder.

28. The law ordains also, that parents should be honoured immediately after God himself, and delivers that son who does not requite them for the benefit he had received from them, but is deficient on any such occasion, to be stoned. It also says, that the young men should pay due respect to every elder, since God is the eldest of all beings. It does not give leave to conceal any thing from our friends, because that is not true friendship which will not commit all things to their fidelity: it also forbids the revelation of secrets, even though an enmity arise between them. If any judge takes bribes, his punishment is death: he that overlooks one that offers him a petition, and this when he is able to relieve him, he is a guilty person. What is not by any one intrusted to another, ought not to be required back again. No one is to touch another's goods. He that lends money must not demand usury for its loan. These, and many more of the like sort, are the rules that unite us in the bands of society one with another.

29. It will also be worth our while to see, what equity our legislator would have us exercise in our intercourse with stran-

gers; for it will then appear, that he made the best provision he possibly could, both that he should not dissolve our own constitution, nor shew any envious mind towards those that would cultivate a friendship with us. Accordingly, our legislator admits all those that have a mind to observe our laws, so to do: and this after a friendly manner, as esteeming that a true union, which not only extends to our own stock, but to those that would live after the same manner with us; yet does he not allow those that come to us by accident only, to be admitted into communion with us.

30. However, there are other things which our legislator ordained for us before-hand, which of necessity we ought to do in common to all men; as to afford fire, and water, and food to such as want it; to shew them the roads: nor to let any one lie unburied. He also would have us treat those that are esteemed our enemies with moderation; for he doth not allow us to set their country on fire, nor permit us to cut down those trees that bear fruit: nay, farther, he forbids us to spoil those that have been slain in war. He hath also provided for such as are taken captive, that they may not be injured, and especially that the women may not be abused. Indeed he hath taught us gentleness and humanity so effectually, that he hath not despised the care of brute beasts, by permitting no other than a regular use of them, and forbidding any other; and if any of them come to our houses, like supplicants, we are forbidden to slay them; nor may we kill the dams, together with their young ones; but we are obliged, even in an enemy's country, to spare and not kill those creatures that labour for mankind. Thus hath our lawgiver contrived to teach us an equitable conduct every way, by using us to such laws as instruct us therein; while at the same time he hath ordained, that such as break these laws should be punished, without the allowance of any excuse whatsoever.

31. Now the greatest part of offences with us are capital; as if any one be guilty of adultery; if any one force a virgin; if any one be so impudent as to attempt sodomy with a male, or if, upon another's making an attempt upon him, he submits to be so used. There is also a law for slaves of the like nature that can never be avoided. Moreover, if any one cheats another in measures, or weights, or makes a knavish bargain and sale, in order to cheat another; if any one steal what belongs to another, and takes what he never deposited, all these have punishments allotted them; not such as are met with among other nations, but more severe ones. And as for attempts of unjust behaviour towards parents, or for impiety against God, though they be not actually accomplished, the offenders are destroyed immediately.

However, the reward for such as live exactly according to the laws, is not silver nor gold; it is not a garland of olive branches or of smallage, nor any such public sign of commendation; but every good man hath his own conscience bearing witness to himself, and by virtue of our legislator's prophetic spirit, and the firm security God himself affords such an one, he believes that God hath made this grant to those that observe these laws, even though they be obliged readily to die for them, that they shall come into being again, and at a certain revolution of things shall receive a better life than they had enjoyed before. Nor would I venture to write thus at this time, were it not well known to all by their actions, that many of our people have many a time bravely resolved to endure any sufferings, rather than speak one word against our law.

32. Nay, indeed, in case it had so fallen out, that our nation had not been so thoroughly known among all men as they are, and our voluntary submission to our laws had not been so open and manifest as it is, but that somebody had pretended to have written these laws himself, and had read them to the Greeks, or had pretended that he had met with men out of the limits of the known world, that had such reverent notions of God, and had continued a long time in the firm observance of such laws as ours, I cannot but suppose that all men would admire them on a reflection upon the frequent changes they had therein been themselves subject to; and this while those that have attempted to write somewhat of the same kind for politic government, and for laws, are accused as composing monstrous things, and are said to have undertaken an impossible task upon them. And here I will say nothing of those other philosophers who have undertaken any thing of this nature in their writings. But even Plato himself, who is so admired by the Greeks on account of that gravity in his manners, and force in his words, and that ability he had to persuade men beyond all other philosophers, is little better than laughed at and exposed to ridicule on that account, by those that pretend to sagacity in political affairs: although he that shall diligently peruse his writings, will find his precepts to be somewhat gentle, and pretty near to the customs of the generality of mankind. Nay Plato himself confesseth, that it is not safe to publish the true notion concerning God among the ignorant multitude. Yet do some men look upon Plato's discourses as no better than certain idle words set off with great artifice. However, they admire Lycurgus as the principal lawgiver, and all men celebrate Sparta for having continued in the firm observance of his laws for a very long time. So far then we have gained, that it is

to be confessed a mark of virtue to submit to laws*. But then let such as admire this in the Lacedemonians compare that duration of theirs with more than two thousand years which our political government hath continued; and let them farther consider, that though the Lacedemonians did seem to observe their laws exactly, while they enjoyed their liberty, yet that when they underwent a change of their fortune, they forgat almost all those laws; while we having been under ten thousand changes that happened among the kings of Asia, we have never betrayed our laws under the most pressing distresses we have been in: nor have we neglected them either out of sloth or for a livelihood†. Nay, if any one will consider it, the difficulties and labours laid upon us have been greater than what appears to have been borne by the Lacedemonian fortitude, while they neither ploughed their land, nor exercised any trades, but lived in their own city, free from all such pains taking, in the enjoyment of plenty, and using such exercises as might improve their bodies, while they made use of other men as their servants for all the necessaries of life, and had their food prepared for them by the others; and these good and humane actions they do for no other purpose but this, that by their actions and their sufferings they may be able to conquer all those against whom they make war, I need not add this, that they have not been fully able to observe their laws; for not only a few single persons but multitudes of them have in heaps neglected those laws, and have delivered themselves together with their arms, into the hands of their enemies.

33. Now, as for ourselves, I venture to say, that no one can tell of so many, nay not more than one or two that have betrayed our laws, no not out of fear of death itself; I do not mean such an easy death as happens in battles, but that which comes with bodily torments, and seems to be the severest kind of death of all others. Now I think those that have conquered us have put us to such deaths, not out of their hatred to us when they had subdued us, but rather out of their desire of seeing a surprising sight, which is this, whether there be such men in the world who believe that no evil is to them so great as to be compelled to do or to speak any thing contrary to their own laws! Nor ought men to wonder at us, if we are more

* It may not be amiss to set down here a very remarkable testimony of the great philosopher Cicero, as to the preference of *laws to philosophy*: "I will," says he, "boldly declare my opinion, though the whole world be offended at it. I prefer "this little book of the Twelve Tables alone to all the volumes of the philosophers. "I find it to be not only of more weight, but also much more useful." *De Oratore.*

† Or, we have observed our times of rest, and sorts of food allowed us, during our distresses.

courageous in dying for our laws than all other men are; for other men do not easily submit to the easier things in which we are instituted, I mean working with our hands, and eating but little, and being contented to eat and drink, not at random, or at every one's pleasure, or being under inviolable rules in lying with our wives, in magnificent furniture, and again in the observation of our times of rest; while those that can use their swords in war, and can put their enemies to flight when they attack them, cannot bear to submit to such laws about their way of living: whereas our being accustomed willingly to submit to laws in these instances, renders us fit to shew our fortitude upon other occasions also.

34. Yet do the Lysimachi and the Melones, and some other writers, (unskilful sophists as they are), and the deceivers of young men, reproach us as the vilest of mankind. Now I have no mind to make an inquiry into the laws of other nations; for the custom of our country is to keep our own laws, but not to bring accusations against the laws of others. And indeed our legislator hath expressly forbidden us to laugh at, and revile those that are esteemed gods by other people*, on account of the very name of God ascribed to them. But since our antagonists think to run us down upon the comparison of their religion and ours, it is not possible to keep silence here, especially while what I shall say to confute these men will not be now first said, but hath been already said by many, and these of the highest reputation also: for who is there among those that have been admired among the Greeks for wisdom, who hath not greatly blamed both the most famous poets, and most celebrated legislators for spreading such notions originally among the body of the people concerning the gods? such as these, that they may be allowed to be as numerous as they have a mind to have them; that they are begotten one by another, and that after all the kinds of generation you can imagine. They also distinguish them in their places and ways of living as they would distinguish several sorts of animals: as some to be under the earth; as some to be in the sea: and the ancientest of them all to be bound in hell: and for those to whom they have allotted heaven, they have set over them one, who in title is their father, but in his actions a tyrant and a lord; whence it came to pass that his wife, and brother, and daughter, (which daughter he brought forth from his own head), made a conspiracy against him to seize upon him and confine him, as he had himself seized upon, and confined his own father before.

35. And justly have the wisest men thought those notions deserved severe rebukes; they also laugh at them for determin-

* See Antiq. B. IV. ch. xiii. sect. 10. vol. I. and its note.

ing that we ought to believe some of the gods to be beardless and young, and others of them to be old, and to have beards accordingly: that some are set to trades: that one god is a smith, and another goddess is a weaver; that one god is a warrior, and fights with men, that some of them are harpers, or delight in archery: and besides, that mutual seditions arise among them, and that they quarrel about men, and this so far, that they not only lay hands upon one another, but that they are wounded by men, and lament, and take on for such their afflictions. But what is the grossest of all in point of lasciviousness, are those unbounded lusts ascribed to almost all of them, and their amours; which how can it be other than a most absurd supposal, especially when it reaches to the male-gods, and to the female-goddesses also? Moreover the chief of all their gods, and their first father himself, overlooks those goddesses whom he hath deluded and begotten with child, and suffers them to be kept in prison, or drowned in the sea. He is also so bound up by fate, that he cannot save his own offspring, nor can he bear their deaths without shedding of tears. These are fine things indeed! as are the rest that follow. Adulteries truly are so impudently looked on in heaven by the gods, that some of them have confessed they envied those that were found in the very act. And why should they not do so, when the eldest of them, who is their king also, hath not been able to restrain himself in the violence of his lust, from lying with his wife so long as they might get into their bed-chamber. Now some of the gods are servants to men, and will sometimes be builders for a reward, and sometimes will be shepherds; while others of them, like malefactors, are bound in a prison of brass. And what sober person is there who would not be provoked at such stories, and rebuke those that forged them, and condemn the great silliness of those that admit them for true? Nay, others there are that have advanced a certain timorousness and fear, as also madness and fraud, and any other of the vilest passions into the nature and form of gods, and have persuaded whole cities to offer sacrifices to the better sort of them; on which account they have been absolutely forced to esteem some gods as the givers of good things, and to call others of them averters of evil. They also endeavour to move them, as they would the vilest of men, by gifts and presents, as looking for nothing else than to receive some great mischief from them, unless they pay them such wages.

36. Wherefore, it deserves our inquiry, what should be the occasion of this unjust management, and of these scandals about the Deity? And truly I suppose it to be derived from the imperfect knowledge the heathen legislators had at first of the true nature of God; nor did they explain to the people even so far

as they did comprehend of it, nor did they compose the other parts of their political settlements according to it, but omitted it as a thing of very little consequence, and gave leave both to the poets to introduce what gods they pleased, and those subject to all sorts of passions, and to the orators to procure political decrees from the people for the admission of such foreign gods as they thought proper. The painters also, and statuaries of Greece had herein great power, as each of them could contrive a shape [proper for a god]; the one to be formed out of clay, and the other by making the bare picture of such a one. But those workmen that were principally admired, had the use of ivory and of gold as the constant materials for their new statues: [whereby it comes to pass that some temples are quite deserted, while others are in great esteem, and adorned with all the rites of all kinds of purification]. Besides this, the first gods, who have long flourished in the honours done them, are now grown old, [while those that flourished after them are come in their room as a second rank, that I may speak the most honourably of them that I can]· nay, certain other gods there are who are newly introduced, and newly worshipped, [as we, by way of digression have said already, and yet have left their place of worship desolate]; and for their temples, some of them are already left desolate, and others are built anew, according to the pleasure of men; whereas they ought to have preserved their opinion about God, and that worship which is due to him always and immutably the same.

37. But now this Appollonius Molo was one of these foolish and proud men. However, nothing that I have said was unknown to those that were real philosophers among the Greeks, nor were they unacquainted with those frigid pretentions of allegories, [which had been alleged for such things]; on which account they justly despised them, but have still agreed with us as to the true and becoming notions of God; whence it was that Plato would not have political settlements admit of any one of the other poets, and dismisses even Homer himself, with a garland on his head, and with ointment poured upon him, and this because he should not destroy the right notions of God with his fables. Nay, Plato principally imitated our legislator in this point, that he enjoined his citizens to have the main regard to this precept, That every one of them should learn their laws accurately. He also ordained that they should not admit of foreigners intermixing with their own people at random; and provided that the commonwealth should keep itself pure, and consist of such only as persevered in their own laws. Appollonius Molo did no way consider this, when he made it one branch of his accusation against us, that we do not admit of such

as have different notions about God, nor will we have fellowship with those that choose to observe a way of living different from ourselves; yet is not this method peculiar to us, but common to all other men: not among the ordinary Grecians only, but among such of those Grecians as are of the greatest reputation among them. Moreover, the Lacedemonions continued in their way of expelling foreigners, and would not indeed, give leave to their own people to travel abroad, as suspecting that those two things would introduce a dissolution of their own laws: and perhaps there may be some reason to blame the rigid severity of the Lacedemonians, for they bestowed the privilege of their city on no foreigners, nor indeed would give leave to them to stay among them: whereas we, though we do not think fit to imitate other institutions, yet do we willingly admit of those that desire to partake of ours, which I think, I may reckon to be a plain indication of our humanity, and at the same time of our magnanimity also.

38. But I shall say no more of the Lacedemonians. As for the Athenians, who glory in having made their city to be common to all men, what their behaviour was, Appollonius did not know, while they punished those that did but speak one word contrary to their laws about the gods, without any mercy: for on what other account was it that Socrates was put to death by them? For certainly he neither betrayed their city to its enemies, nor was he guilty of any sacrilege with regard to any of their temples; but it was on this account, that he swore certain new oaths*, and that he affirmed either in earnest, or, as some say, only in jest, that a certain demon used to make signs to him [what he should not do]. For these reasons he was condemned to drink poison, and kill himself. His accuser also complained, that he corrupted the young men, by inducing them to despise the political settlement, and laws of their city; and thus was Socrates, the citizen of Athens punished. There was also Anaxagorus, who, although he was of Clazomenæ, was within a few suffrages of being condemned to die, because he said the sun, which the Athenians thought to be a god, was a ball of fire. They also made this public proclamation, That they would give a talent to any one that would kill Diagorus of Melos, because it was reported of him that he laughed at their mysteries: Protagorus also, who was thought to have written somewhat that was not owned for truth by the Athenians, about the gods, had been seized upon, and put to

* See what these novel oaths were in Dr. Hudson's note, viz. To swear by an oak, by a goat, and by a dog, as also by a gander, as says Philostratus and others. This swearing strange oaths was also forbidden by the Tyrians, B. I. sect. 22. Vol. I. as Spanheim here notes.

death, if he had not fled immediately away. Nor need we at all wonder that they thus treated such considerable men; when they did not spare even women also; for they very lately slew a certain priestess, because she was accused by somebody that she initiated people into the worship of strange gods, it having been forbidden so do to by one of their laws: and a capital punishment had been decreed to such as introduced a strange god; it being manifest, that they who make use of such a law, do not believe those of other nations to be really gods, otherwise they had not envied themselves the advantage of more gods than they already had. And this was the happy administration of the affairs of the Athenians! Now, as to the Scythians, they take a pleasure in killing men, and differ little from brute beasts, yet do they think it reasonable to have their institutions observed. They also slew Anacharsis, a person greatly admired for his wisdom among the Greeks, when he returned to them, because he appeared to come fraught with Grecian customs; one may also find many to have been punished among the Persians, on the very same account. And to be sure Apollonius was greatly pleased with the laws of the Persians, and was an admirer of them, because the Greeks enjoyed the advantage of their courage, and had the very same opinion about the gods which they had! This last was exemplified in the temples which they burnt, and their courage in coming, and almost entirely enslaving the Grecians. However, Appollonius has imitated all the Persian institutions, and that by his offering violence to other men's wives, and castrating his own sons. Now, with us it is a capital crime, if any one does thus abuse even a brute beast: and as for us, neither hath the fear of our governors, nor a desire of following what other nations have in so great esteem, been able to withdraw us from our own laws; nor have we exerted our courage in raising up wars to increase our wealth, but only for the observation of our laws: and when we with patience bear other losses, yet when any persons would compel us to break our laws, then it is that we choose to go to war, though it be beyond our ability to pursue it, and bear the greatest calamities to the last with much fortitude. And indeed, what reason can there be why we should desire to imitate the laws of other nations, while we see they are not observed by their own legislators? And why do not the Lacedemonians think of abolishing that form of their government, which suffers them not to associate with any others, as well as their contempt of matrimony? And why do not the Eleans and Thebans abolish that unnatural and imprudent lust, which makes them lie with males? For they will not show a sufficient sign of their repentance of what they of old thought to be

very excellent, and very advantageous in their practices, unless they entirely avoid all such actions for the time to come: nay, such things are still inserted into the body of their laws, and had once such a power among the Greeks, that they ascribed these Sodomitical practices to the gods themselves, as a part of their good character; and indeed it was according to the same manner that the gods married their own sisters. This the Greeks contrived as an apology for their own absurd and unnatural pleasures.

39. I omit to speak concerning punishments, and how many ways of escaping them the greatest part of the legislators have afforded malefactors by ordaining that for adulteries, fines in money should be allowed, and for corrupting * [virgins] they need only marry them†: as also what excuses they may have in denying the facts, if any one attempts to inquire into them; for amongst most other nations it is a studied art, how men may transgress their laws. But no such thing is permitted amongst us; for though we be deprived of our wealth, of our cities, or of the other advantages we have, our law continues immortal; nor can any Jew go so far from his own country, nor be so affrighted at the severest lord, as not to be more affrighted at the law than at him. If, therefore, this be the disposition we are under, with regard to the excellency of our laws, let our enemies make us this concession, that our laws are most excellent; and if still they imagine, that though we so firmly adhere to them, yet are they bad laws notwithstanding, what penalties then do they deserve to undergo, who do not observe their own laws, which they esteem so far superior to them! Whereas, therefore, length of time is esteemed to be the truest touchstone in all cases, I would make that a testimonial of the excellency of our laws, and of that belief thereby delivered to us concerning God. For as there hath been a very long time for this comparison, if any one will but compare its duration with the duration of the laws made by other legislators, he will find our legislator to have been the ancientest of them all.

40. We have already demonstrated that our laws have been such as have always inspired admiration and imitation in all other men; nay, the earliest Grecian philosophers, though in

* Why Josephus here shall blame some heathen legislators, when they allowed so easy a composition for simple fornication, as an obligation to marry the virgin that was corrupted, is hard to say, seeing he had himself truly informed us, that it was a law of the Jews, Antiq. B. IV. ch. viii. sect. 12. vol. I. as it is the law of Christianity also; see Horeb Covenant, page 61. I am almost ready to suspect, that for γαμους, we should here read γαμων, and that corrupting wedlock, or other men's wives, is the crime for which these heathens wickedly allowed this composition in money.

† Or for corrupting other men's wives the same allowance.

appearance they observed the laws of their own countries, yet did they, in their actions, and their philosophic doctrines, follow our legislator, and instructed men to live sparingly, and to have friendly communication one with another. Nay, farther, the multitude of mankind itself have had a great inclination of a long time to follow our religious observances; for there is not any city of the Grecians, nor any of the barbarians, nor any nation whatsoever, whither our custom of resting on the seventh day hath not come, and by which our fasts and lighting up lamps, and many of our prohibitions as to our food, are not observed; they also endeavour to imitate our mutual concord with one another, and the charitable distribution of our goods, and our diligence in our trades, and our fortitude in undergoing the distresses we are in, on account of our laws; and what is here matter of the greatest admiration, our law hath no bait of pleasure to allure men to it, but it prevails by its own force; and as God himself pervades all the world, so hath our law passed through all the world also. So that if any one will but reflect on his own country, and his own family, he will have reason to give credit to what I say. It is therefore but just, either to condemn all mankind of indulging a wicked disposition, when they have been so desirous of imitating laws that are to them foreign and evil in themselves, rather than following laws of their own that are of a better character, or else our accusers must leave off their spite against us. Nor are we guilty of any envious behaviour towards them, when we honour our own legislator, and believe what he, by his prophetic authority, hath taught us concerning God. For though we should not be able ourselves to understand the excellency of our own laws, yet would the great multitude of those who desire to imitate them, justify us, in greatly valuing ourselves upon them.

41. But as for the [distinct political] laws by which we are governed, I have delivered them accurately in my books of Antiquities: and have only mentioned them now, so far as was necessary to my present purpose; without proposing to myself either to blame the laws of other nations, or to make an encomium upon our own; but in order to convict those that have written about us unjustly, and in an impudent affectation of disguising the truth. And now I think I have sufficiently completed what I proposed in writing these books. For whereas our accusers have pretended, that our nation are a people of a very late original, I have demonstrated that they are exceeding ancient; for I have produced as witnesses thereto many ancient writers, who have made mention of us in their books, while they said no such writer had so done. Moreover they had said, that we were sprung from the Egyptians, while I have

proved that we came from another country into Egypt: while they had told lies of us, as if we were expelled thence on account of diseases on our bodies, it has appeared on the contrary that we returned to our country by our own choice, and with sound and strong bodies. Those accusers reproached our legislator as a vile fellow: whereas God in old time bare witness to his virtuous conduct; and since that testimony of God, time itself hath been discovered to have borne witness to the same thing.

42. As to the laws themselves, more words are unnecessary, for they are visible in their own nature, and appear to teach not impiety, but the truest piety in the world. They do not make men hate one another, but encourage people to communicate what they have to one another freely; they are enemies to injustice, they take care of righteousness, they banish idleness and expensive living, and instruct men to be content with that they have, and to be laborious in their callings: they forbid men to make war from a desire of getting more, but make men courageous in defending the laws: they are inexorable in punishing malefactors: they admit no sophistry of words, but are always established by actions themselves, which actions we ever propose as surer demonstrations than what is contained in writing only; on which account I am so bold as to say, that we are become the teachers of other men, in the greatest number of things, and those of the most excellent nature only, for what is more excellent than inviolable piety? what is more just than submission to laws? and what is more advantageous than mutual love and concord? And this so far that we are to be neither divided by calamities, nor to become injurious and seditious in prosperity; but to contemn death when we are in war, and in peace to apply ourselves to our mechanical occupations, or to our tillage of the ground; while we in all things and all ways are satisfied that God is the inspector and governor of our actions. If these precepts had either been written at first, or more exactly kept by any others before us, we should have owed them thanks as disciples owe to their masters: but if it be visible that we have made use of them more than any other men, and if we have demonstrated, that the original invention of them is our own, let the Apions, and the Molons, with all the rest of those that delight in lies and reproaches, stand confuted: but let this and the foregoing book be dedicated to thee, Epaphroditus, who art so great a lover of truth, and by thy means to those that have been in like manner desirous to be acquainted with the affairs of our nation.

An Extract out of JOSEPHUS'S *Discourse to the Greeks concerning* HADES.

§ 1. NOW as to Hades, wherein the souls of the righteous and unrighteous are detained, it is necessary to speak of it. Hades is a place in the world not regularly finished; a *subterraneous* region, wherein the light of this world does not shine; from which circumstance, that in this region the light does not shine, it cannot be but there must be in it perpetual *darkness.* This region is allotted as a place of custody for souls, in which angels are appointed as guardians to them, who distribute to them *temporary punishments,* agreeable to every one's behaviour and manners.

2. In this region there is a certain place set apart, as a *lake of unquenchable fire,* whereinto we suppose no one hath hitherto been cast, but it is prepared for a day afore-determined by God, in which one righteous sentence shall deservedly be passed upon all men; when the unjust and those that have been disobedient to God, and have given honour to such idols as have been the vain operations of the hands of men as to God himself, shall be adjudged to this *everlasting punishment,* as having been the causes of defilement; while the just shall obtain an *incorruptible* and never-fading *kingdom.* These are now indeed confined in hades, but not in the same place wherein the unjust are confined.

3. For there is one descent into this region, at whose *gate* we believe there stands an archangel with an host; which *gate* when those pass through that are conducted down by the angels appointed over souls, they do not go the same way, but the just are guided to the *right hand,* and are led with hymns, sung by the *angels* appointed over that place, unto a region of *light,* in which the just have dwelt from the beginning of the world; not constrained by necessity, but ever enjoying the prospect of the good things they see, and rejoice in the expectation of those new enjoyments which will be peculiar to every one of them, and esteeming those things beyond what we have here: with whom there is no place of toil, no burning heat, no piercing cold; nor are any briers there; but the countenance of the *fathers* and of the just, which they see always smiles upon them, while they wait for the rest and *eternal* new *life in heaven,* which is to succeed this region. This place we call the *bosom of Abraham.*

4. But as to the unjust, they are dragged by force to the *left hand* by the angels allotted for punishment, no longer going with a good-will, but as prisoners driven by violence; to whom are sent the angels appointed over them to reproach them and threaten them with their terrible looks, and to thrust them

still downwards. Now these angels that are set over these souls drag them into the neighbourhood of hell itself; who, when they are hard by it, continually hear the noise of it, and do not stand clear of the hot vapour itself; but when they have a near view of this spectacle, as of a terrible and exceeding great prospect of fire, they are struck with a fearful expectation of a future judgment, and in effect punished thereby; and not only so, but where they see the place [or choir] of the *fathers* and of the just, even hereby are they punished; for a *chaos* deep and large is fixed between them; insomuch that a just man that hath compassion upon them cannot be admitted, nor can one that is unjust, if he were bold enough to attempt it, pass over it.

5. This is the discourse concerning Hades, wherein the souls of all men are confined until a proper season which God hath determined, when he will make a resurrection of all men from the dead; not procuring a transmigration of souls from one body to another, but raising again those very bodies, which you Greeks seeing to be dissolved, do not believe [their resurrection.] But learn not to disbelieve; for while you believe that the soul is created; and yet is made immortal by God, according to the doctrine of Plato, and this in time, be not incredulous, but believe that God is able, when he hath raised to life that body which was made as a compound of the same elements to make it immortal; for it must never be said of God, that he is able to do some things, and unable to do others. We have therefore believed that the body will be raised again, for although it be dissolved, it is not perished; for the earth receives its remains, and preserves them; and while they are like *seed*, and are mixed among the more fruitful soil, they flourish, and what is *sown* is indeed sown *bare grain*, but at the mighty sound of God the Creator, it will sprout up, and be raised in a *clothed* and *glorious* condition, though not before it has been dissolved, and mixed [with the earth]. So that we have not rashly believed the resurrection of the body; for although it be dissolved for a time on account of the original transgression, it exists still, and is cast into the earth, as into a potter's furnace, in order to be formed again, not in order to rise again such as it was before, but in a state of purity, and so as never to be destroyed any more. And to every body shall its *own soul* be restored. And when it hath *clothed itself* with that body, it will not be subject to misery, but being itself pure, it will continue with its pure body, and rejoice with it, with which it having walked righteously now in this world, and never having had it as a snare, it will receive it again with great gladness. But as for the unjust, they will receive their bodies not changed, not freed from diseases or distempers, nor

made glorious, but with the same diseases wherein they died; and such as they were in unbelief, the same shall they be when they shall be faithfully judged.

6. For all men, the just as well as the unjust, shall be brought before *God the Word*; for to him hath the *Father committed all judgment*, and he, in order to *fulfil the will of his Father*, shall come as judge, whom we call *Christ*. For Minos and Rhadamanthus are not the judges, as you Greeks do suppose, but he whom *God and the Father hath glorified*, CONCERNING WHOM WE HAVE ELSEWHERE GIVEN A MORE PARTICULAR ACCOUNT, FOR THE SAKE OF THOSE WHO SEEK AFTER TRUTH. This person exercising the righteous judgment of the Father towards all men, hath prepared a just sentence for every one, according to his works; at whose judgment seat, when all men, and angels, and demons shall stand, they will send forth one voice, and say, JUST IS THY JUDGMENT; the rejoinder to which will bring a just sentence upon both parties, by giving justly to those who have done well, an *everlasting fruition*; but allotting to the lovers of wicked works *eternal punishment*. To these belong the *unquenchable fire*, and that without end, and a certain fiery *worm never dying*, and not destroying the body, but continuing its eruption out of the body with never ceasing grief: neither will sleep give ease to these men, nor will the night afford them comfort; death will not free them from their punishment, nor will the interceding prayers of their kindred profit them; for the just are no longer seen by them, nor are they thought worthy of remembrance. But the just shall remember only their righteous actions, whereby they have attained the *heavenly kingdom*, in which there is no sleep, no sorrow, no corruption, no care, no night, no day measured by time, no sun driven in his course along the circle of heaven by necessity, and measuring out the bounds and conversions of the seasons, for the better illumination of the life of men; no moon decreasing and increasing, or introducing a variety of seasons, nor will she then moisten the earth; no burning sun, no Bear turning round [the pole,] no Orion to rise, no wandering of innumerable stars. The earth will not then be difficult to be passed over, nor will it be hard to find out the court of paradise, nor will there be any fearful roaring of the sea, forbidding the passengers to walk on it; even *that* will be made easily passable to the just, though it will not be void of moisture. Heaven will not then be uninhabitable by men, and it will not be impossible to discover the way of ascending thither. The earth will not then be uncultivated, nor require too much labour of men, but will bring forth its fruits of its own accord, and will be well adorned with them. There will be no more

generations of wild beasts, nor will the substance of the rest of the animals shoot out any more: for it will not produce men, but the number of the righteous will continue, and never fail, together with righteous angels, and spirits [of God], and with his word, as a choir of righteous men and women that never grow old, and continue in an incorruptible state, singing hymns to God,* who hath advanced them to that happiness, by the means of a regular institution of life; with whom the whole creation also will lift up a perpetual hymn from *corruption to incorruption*, as glorified by a splendid and pure spirit. It will not then be restrained by a bond of necessity, but with a lively freedom shall offer up a voluntary hymn, and shall praise him that made them, together with the angels, and spirits, and men, now *freed from all bondage.*

7. And now, if you Gentiles will be persuaded by these motives, and leave your vain imaginations about your pedigrees, and gaining of riches, and philosophy, and will not spend your time about subtleties of words, and thereby lead your minds into error, and if you will apply your ears to the hearing of the inspired prophets, the interpreters, both of God and of his word, and will believe in God, you shall both be partakers of these things, and obtain the good things that are to come: you shall see the ascent into the immense heaven plainly, and that kingdom which is there. For what God hath now concealed in silence [will be then made manifest,] *what neither eye hath seen, nor ear hath heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man, the things that God hath prepared for them that love him.*

8. *In whatsoever ways I shall find you, in them shall I judge you entirely;* so cries the END *of all things.* And he who hath at first lived a virtuous life, but towards the latter end falls into vice, these labours by him before endured, shall be altogether vain and unprofitable, even as in a play brought to an ill catastrophe. Whosoever shall have lived wickedly and luxuriously may repent; however, there will be need of much time to conquer an evil habit, and after repentance, his whole life must be guarded with great care and diligence, after the manner of a body, which, after it had been a long time afflicted with a distemper, requires a stricter diet and method of living: for though it may be possible, perhaps, to break off the chain of our irregular affections at once, yet our amendment cannot be secured without the grace of God, the prayers of good men, the help of the brethren, and our own sincere repentance and constant care. It is a good thing not to sin at all, it is also good, having sinned, to repent; as it is best to have health always, but it is a good thing to recover from a distemper. *To God be glory and dominion for ever and ever.* Amen.

END OF THE WRITINGS OF JOSEPHUS.

APPENDIX.

DISSERTATION I.

The TESTIMONIES *of* JOSEPHUS *concerning* JESUS CHRIST, JOHN *the Baptist, and* JAMES *the Just vindicated.*

SINCE we meet with certain important testimonies in Josephus the Jewish historian, concerning JOHN the Baptist, the forerunner of JESUS of Nazareth, concerning Jesus of Nazareth himself, and concerning JAMES the Just, the brother of Jesus of Nazareth; and since the principal testimony, which is that concerning Jesus of Nazareth himself, has of late been greatly questioned by many, and rejected by some of the learned as spurious, it will be fit for me, who have ever declared my firm belief that these testimonies were genuine, to set down fairly some of the *original evidence and citations*, I have met with in the first fifteen centuries concerning them, and then to make proper *observations* upon that evidence, for the reader's more complete satisfaction.

But before I produce the citations themselves out of Josephus, give me leave to prepare the reader's attention, by setting down the sentiments of perhaps the most learned person, and the most competent judge that ever was, as to the authority of Josephus, I mean of Joseph Scaliger, in the Prolegomena to his book *De Emendatione Temporum*, p. 17. "Josephus is the most diligent and the greatest lover of truth of all writers: nor are we afraid to affirm of him, that it is more safe to believe him, not only as to the affairs of the Jews, but also to those that are foreign to them, than all the Greek and Latin writers, and this, because his fidelity and his compass of learning are every where conspicuous."

The ancient CITATIONS of the Testimonies of JOSEPHUS, *from his own time, till the end of the fifteenth century.*

About A. D. 110. *Tacit. Annal. lib.* XV. *cap.* 44.—NERO, in order to stifle the rumour, [as if he himself had set Rome on fire] ascribed it to those people who were hated for their wicked practices, and called by the vulgar *Christians:* these he punished exquisitely. *The author of this name was Christ, who, in the reign of Tiberius, was brought to punishment by Pontius Pilate the procurator.*

About A. D. 147. *Just. Mart. Dialog. cum Trypho*, p. 230.—You [Jews] knew that Jesus was risen from the dead, and ascended into heaven, as the prophecies did foretell was to happen.

About A. D. 230. *Origen Comment. in Matth.* p. 234.—This James was of so shining a character among the people, on account of his righteousness, that Flavius Josephus, when, in his twentieth book of the Jewish Antiquities, he had a mind to set down what was the cause why the people suffered such miseries, till the very holy house was demolished, he said, that these things befel them by the

anger of God, on account of what they had dared to do to James, the brother of Jesus, who was called *Christ:* And wonderful it is, that while he did not receive Jesus for Christ, he did nevertheless bear witness that James was so righteous a man. He says farther, that the people thought that they suffered those things for the sake of James.

About A. D. 250. *Contra Cels. lib.* i. p. 35, 36.—I would say to Celsus, who personates a Jew, that admitted of John the Baptist, and how he baptized Jesus, that one who lived but a little while after John and Jesus, wrote, how that John was a baptizer unto the remission of sins. For Josephus testifies, in the eighteenth book of Jewish Antiquities, that John was the Baptist, and that he promised purification to those that were baptized. The same Josephus also, although he did not believe in Jesus as Christ, when he was inquiring after the cause of the destruction of Jerusalem, and of the demolition of the temple, and ought to have said, that their machinations against Jesus were the cause of those miseries coming on the people, because they had slain that Christ who was foretold by the prophets, he, though as it were unwillingly, and yet as one not remote from the truth, says, "these miseries befel the Jews by way of revenge for James the Just, who was the brother of Jesus, that was called *Christ*, because they had slain him who was a most righteous person." Now this James was he whom that genuine disciple of Jesus, Paul, said he had seen *as the Lord's brother;* [Gal. i. 19.] which relation, implies not so much nearness of blood, or the sameness of education, as it does the agreement of manners and preaching. If therefore he says the desolation of Jerusalem befel the Jews for the sake of James, with how much greater reason might he have said, that it happened for the sake of Jesus, *&c.*

About A. D. 324. *Euseb. Demonstr. Evan. lib.* iii. p. 124.—Certainly the attestation of those I have already produced concerning our Saviour may be sufficient. However, it may not be amiss, if; over and above, we make use of Josephus the Jew for a farther witness: who, in the eighteenth book of his Antiquities, when he was writing the history of what happened under Pilate, makes mention of our Saviour in these words: "Now there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as had a veneration for truth; he drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles: He was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at first did not forsake him; for he appeared unto them alive again the third day, as the divine prophets had spoken of these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him: whence the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day." If therefore we have this historian's testimony, that he not only brought over to himself the twelve apostles, with the seventy disciples, but many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles also, he must manifestly have had somewhat in him extraordinary above the rest of mankind, for how otherwise could he draw over so many of the Jews and of the Gentiles, unless he performed admirable

and amazing works, and used a method of teaching that was not common? Moreover, the scripture of the Acts of the Apostles bears witness, that there were many ten thousands of Jews, who were persuaded that he was the Christ of God, who was foretold by the prophets. [Acts xxi. 20.]

About A. D. 330. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. *cap.* 11.—Now the divine scripture of the gospels make mention of John the Baptist as having his head cut off by the younger Herod. Josephus also concurs in this history, and makes mention of Herodias by name, as the wife of his brother, whom Herod had married, upon divorcing his former lawful wife. She was the daughter of Aretas, king of the Petrean Arabians; and which Herodias he had parted from her husband while he was alive: On which account also, when he had slain John, he made war with Aretas, [Aretas made war with him], because his daughter had been used dishonourably: In which war, when it came to a battle, he says, that all Herod's army was destroyed, and that he suffered this because of his wicked contrivance against John. Moreover the same Josephus, by acknowledging John to have been a most righteous man, and the baptist, conspires in his testimony with what is written in the gospels. He also relates, that Herod lost his kingdom for the sake of the same Herodias, together with whom he was himself condemned to be banished to Vienna, a city of Gaul. And this is his account in the eighteenth book of the Antiquities, where he writes this of John *verbatim:* Some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that very justly, as a punishment for what he did against John that was called the Baptist, for Herod slew him, who was a good man, and one that commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism, for that by this means the washing [with water] would appear acceptable to him, when they made use of it, not in order to the putting away [or the remission] of some sins [only], but for the purification of the body; supposing still that the soul was thoroughly purified before-hand by righteousness. Now when [many] others came in crowds about him, for they were greatly delighted in hearing his words, Herod was afraid that this so great power of persuading men might tend to some sedition or other, for they seemed to be disposed to do every thing he should advise them to, so he supposed it better to prevent any attempt of a mutation from him, by cutting him off, than after any such mutation should be brought about, and the public should suffer, to repent [of such negligence.] Accordingly he was sent a prisoner out of Herod's suspicious temper, to Machærus, the castle I before mentioned, and was there put to death. When Josephus had said this of John, he makes mention also of our Saviour in the same history, after this manner: "Now there was about this time one Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure; he drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles also: He was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at the first

did not forsake him, for he appeared to them alive again the third day, as the divine prophets had foretold these, and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And still the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day." And since this writer, sprung from the Hebrews themselves, hath delivered these things above in his own work, concerning John the Baptist and our Saviour, what room is there for any farther evasion? &c.

Now James was so wonderful a person, and was so celebrated by all others for righteousness, that the judicious Jews thought this to have been the occasion of that siege of Jerusalem, which came on presently after his martyrdom, and that it befel them for no other reason, then that impious fact they were guilty of against him. Josephus, therefore, did not refuse to attest thereto in writing, by the words following: "These miseries befel the Jews by way of revenge for James the Just, who was the brother of Jesus that was called *Christ*, on this account, that they had slain him who was a most righteous person.

The same Josephus declares the manner of his death in the twentieth book of the Antiquities, in these words: "Cæsar sent Albinus into Judea to be procurator, when he had heard that Festus was dead. Now Ananus junior, who, as we said, had been admitted to the high priesthood, was in his temper bold and daring in an extraordinary manner. He was also of the sect of the Sadducees, who are more savage in judgment than the other Jews, as we have already signified. Since therefore this was the character of Ananus, he thought he had now a proper opportunity [to exercise his authority], because Festus was dead, and Albinus was but upon the road; so he assembles the Sanhedrim of judges, and brings before them James, the brother of Jesus who was called *Christ*, and some others [of his companions], and when he had formed an accusation against them, as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned: But as for those who seemed the most equitable of the citizens, and these who were the most uneasy at the breach of the laws, they disliked what was done. They also sent to the king [Agrippa], desiring him to send to Ananus that he should act so no more, for that what he had already done could not be justified, &c.

About A. D. 360. *Ambrose, or Hegesippus de Excid. Urb. Hierosolym. lib.* ii. *cap.* 12.—We have discovered that it was the opinion and belief of the Jews, as Josephus affirms, (who is an author not to be rejected, when he writes against himself), that Herod lost his army, not by the deceit of men, but by the anger of God, and that justly, as an effect of revenge for what he did to John the Baptist, a just man, who had said to him, *It is not lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife.*

The Jews themselves also bear witness to Christ, as appears by Josephus, the writer of their history, who says thus: That there was at that time a wise man, if, says he, it be lawful to have him called a man, a doer of wonderful works, who appeared to his disciples after the third day from his death alive again, according to the writings of the prophets, who foretold these and innumerable other miraculous events concerning him; from whom began the congrega-

tion of Christians, and hath penetrated among all sorts of men; nor does there remain any nation in the Roman world, which continues strangers to his religion. If the Jews do not believe us, let them at least believe their own writers. Josephus, whom they esteem a very great man, hath said this, and yet hath he spoken truth after such a manner, and so far was his mind wandered from the right way, that even he was not a believer, as to what he himself said; but thus he spake, in order to deliver historical truth, because he thought it not lawful for him to deceive, while yet he was no believer, because of the hardness of his heart and his perfidious intention. However, it was no prejudice to the truth that he was not a believer; but this adds more weight to his testimony, that while he was an unbeliever, and unwilling this should be true, he has not denied it to be so.

About A. D. 400. *Hieronym. de Vir. Illustr. in Josepho.*—Josephus, in the eighteenth book of Antiquities, most expressly acknowledges, that Christ was slain by the Pharisees on account of the greatness of his miracles, and that John the Baptist was truly a prophet; and that Jerusalem was demolished on account of the slaughter of James the apostle. Now, he wrote concerning our Lord after this manner: "At the same time there was Jesus, a wise man, if yet "it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful "works, a teacher of those who willingly receive the truth. He had "many followers both of the Jews and of the Gentiles. He was be- "lieved to be Christ. And when, by the envy of our principal men, "Pilate had condemned him to the cross, yet notwithstanding, those "who had loved him at first persevered, for he appeared to them alive "on the third day, as the oracles of the prophets had foretold many "of those and other wonderful things concerning him; and the sect "of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day."

About A. D. 410. *Isidorus Pelusiota, the scholar of Chrysostom, lib.* iv. *epist.* 225.—There was one Josephus, a Jew of the greatest reputation, and one that was zealous of the law; one also that paraphrased the old testament with truth, and acted valiantly for the Jews, and had shewed that their settlement was nobler than can be described by words. Now, since he made their interest give place to truth, for he would not support the opinion of impious men, I think it necessary to set down his words. What then does he say? "Now "there was about that time one Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to "call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of "such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to "him both many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles: He was the "Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men "among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him "at first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them the third day "alive again, as the divine prophets had said these and a vast num- "ber of other wonderful things concerning him: And the tribe of "Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day." Now I cannot but wonder greatly at this man's love of truth in many respects, but chiefly where he says, "Jesus was a teacher of men "which received the truth with pleasure."

About A. D. 440. *Sozemeno. Hist. Eccles. lib.* i. *cap.* 1.—Now Josephus, the son of Mattathias, a priest, a man of very great note, both among the Jews and Romans, may well be a witness of credit, as to the truth of Christ's history; for he scruples to call him a man, as being a doer of wonderful works, and a teacher of the words of truth. He names him *Christ* openly; and is not ignorant that he was condemned to the cross; and appeared on the third day alive, and that ten thousand other wonderful things were foretold of him by the divine prophets. He testifies also, that those whom he drew over to him, being many of the Gentiles, as well as of the Jews, continued to love him; and that the tribe named from him was not then extinct. Now he seems to me by this his relation, almost to proclaim that Christ is God. However, he appears to have been so affected with the strangeness of the thing, as to run as it were in a sort of a middle way, so as not to put any indignity upon believers in him, but rather to afford his suffrage to them.

About A. D. 510. *Cassidorus, Hist. Tripartit. e Sozemeno.*—Now Josephus, the son of Mattathias, and a priest, a man of great nobility among the Jews, and of great dignity among the Romans, bears witness to the truth of Christ's history: for he dares not call him a man, as a doer of famous works, and a teacher of true doctrines; he names him Christ openly; and is not ignorant that he was condemned to the cross, and appeared on the third day alive, and that an infinite number of other wonderful things were foretold of him by the holy prophets. Moreover he testifies also, that there were then alive many whom he had chosen, both Greeks and Jews, and that they continued to love him; and that the sect which was named from him was by no means extinct at that time.

A. D. 640. *Chron. Alex.* p. 514.—Now Josephus also relates in the eighteenth book of Antiquities, how John the Baptist, that holy man, was beheaded on account of Herodias, the wife of Philip, the brother of Herod himself; for Herod had divorced his former wife, who was still alive and had been his lawful wife: she was the daughter of Aretas, king of the Petreans. When therefore Herod had taken Herodias away from her husband, while he was yet alive (on whose account he slew John also), Aretas made war against Herod, because his daughter had been dishonourably treated. In which war, he says, that all Herod's army was destroyed, and that he suffered that calamity because of the wickedness he had been guilty of against John. The same Josephus relates, that Herod lost his kingdom on account of Herodias, and that with her he was banished to Lyons, &c.

P. 526, 527.] Now that our Saviour taught his preaching three years, is demonstrated both by other necessary reasonings, as also out of the holy gospels, and out of Josephus's writings, who was a man among the Hebrews, &c.

P. 584. 587.] Josephus relates in the 5th book of the [Jewish] war that Jerusalem was taken in the third [second] year of Vespasian, as after forty years since they dared to put Jesus to death: in which time he says, that James the brother of our Lord, and bishop of Jerusalem, was thrown down [from the temple], and slain of them, by stoning.

About A. D. 740. *Anastasias Abbas contr. Jud.*—Now Josephus, an author and writer of your own, says of Christ, that he was a just and good

man, shewed and declared so to be by divine grace, who gave aid to many by signs and miracles.

About A. D. 790. *Georgius Syncellus Chron.* p. 339—These miseries befel the Jews by way of revenge for James the Just, who was the brother of Jesus that was called *Christ*, on the account that they had slain him who was a most righteous person. Now as Ananus, a person of that character thought he had a proper opportunity, because Festus was dead, and Albinus was but upon the road, so he assembles the sanhedrim of judges, and brings before them James, the brother of Jesus, who was called *Christ*, and some of his companions; and when he had formed an accusation against them, as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned; but as for those that seemed the most equitable of the citizens, and those that were the most uneasy at the breach of the laws, they disliked what was done. They also sent to the king [Agrippa], desiring him to send to Ananus that he should act so no more, for what he had done already could not be justified, &c.

About A. D. 850. *Johan. Malela Chron. lib.* x.—From that time began the destruction of the Jews, as Josephus, the philosopher of the Hebrews, hath written: who also said this, that from the time the Jews crucified Christ, who was a good and a righteous man, (that is, if it be fit to call such an one a man, and not a God), the land of Judea was never free from trouble. These things the same Josephus the Jew has related in his writings.

About A. D. 860. *Photius Cod. lib.* xlviii.—I have read the treatise of Josephus *about the universe*, whose title I have elsewhere read to be, *Of the substance of the universe*. It is contained in two very small treatises. He treats of the origin of the world in a brief manner. However, he speaks of the divinity of Christ, who is our true God, in a way very like to what we use, declaring that the same name of Christ belongs to him, and writes of his ineffable generation of the Father after such a manner, as cannot be blamed: which thing may perhaps raise a doubt in some, whether Josephus were the author of the work, though the phraseology does not at all differ from this man's other works. However, I have found in some papers that this discourse was not written by Josephus, but by one Caius a presbyter.

Cod. ccxxxviii.] Herod the tetrarch of Galilee and of Perea, the son of Herod the Great, fell in love, as Josephus says, with the wife of his brother Philip, whose name was *Herodias*, who was the grand-daughter of Herod the Great, by his son Aristobulus, whom he had slain. Agrippa was also her brother. Now Herod took her away from her husband, and married her. This is he that slew John the Baptist, that great man, the forerunner [of Christ], being afraid (as Josephus says), lest he should raise a sedition among his people; for they all followed the directions of John, on account of the excellency of his virtue. In his time was the passion of our Saviour.

Cod. xxxiii.] I have read the Chronicle of Justus of Tiberias. He omits the greatest part of what was most necessary to be related; but, as infected with Jewish prejudices, being also himself a Jew by birth, he makes no mention at all of the advent, or of the acts done, or of the miracles wrought by Christ.

The time uncertain. Macarius in Actis Sanctorum, tom. v. p. 149 *ap.*

Fabric. Joseph. p. 61.—Josephus, a priest of Jerusalem, and one that wrote with truth the history of the Jewish affairs, bears witness that Christ, the true God, was incarnate, and crucified, and the third day rose again; whose writings are deposited in the public library. Thus he says, Now there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure; he drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles also: this was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at the first, did not forsake him, for he appeared to them alive again the third day, as the divine prophets had foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And still the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day. Since therefore the writer of the Hebrews has engraven this testimony concerning our Lord and Saviour in his own books, what defence can there remain for the unbelievers?

About A. D. 980. *Suidas in voce Jesaus.*—We have found Josephus, who hath written about the taking of Jerusalem (of whom Eusebius Pamphili makes frequent mention in his ecclesiastical history), saying openly in his Memoirs of the captivity, that Jesus officiated in the temple with the priests. Thus we have found Josephus saying, a man of ancient times, and not very long after the apostles, &c.

About A. D. 1060. *Cedrenus Compend. Histor.* p. 196.—Josephus does indeed write concerning John the Baptist as follows: some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that he was punished very justly, for what punishment he inflicted on John, that was called the *Baptist;* for Herod slew him, who was a good man, and commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both by righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism. But as concerning Christ, the same Josephus says, that about that time there was Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, and a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure, for that Christ drew over many even from the Gentiles; whom when Pilate had crucified, those who at first had loved him, did not leave off to preach concerning him, for he appeared to them the third day alive again, as the divine prophets had testified, and spoke these and other wonderful things concerning him.

About A. D. 1080. *Theophilact. in Joan. lib.* xiii.—The city of the Jews was taken, and the wrath of God was kindled against them; as also Josephus witnesses, that this came upon them, on account of the death of Jesus.

About A. D. 1120. *Zonoras Annal. tom.* i. p. 267.—Josephus, in the eighteenth book of Antiquities, writes thus concerning our Lord and God Jesus Christ: Now there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles: He was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that had loved him at first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them the third day alive again, as the divine prophets had said these and ten thousand other wonderful things

concerning him: And the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day.

About A. D. 1120. *Glycas Annal.* p. 234.—Then did Philo, that wise man, and Josephus flourish. This last was styled, *The lover of truth*, because he commended John, who baptized our Lord: and because he bore witness that Christ, in like manner, was a wise man, and the doer of great miracles; and that when he was crucified he appeared the third day.

About A. D. 1210. *Godfridus Viterbiensis Chron.* p. 366. *e Vers. Rufini.*—Josephus relates, that a very great war arose between Aretas, king of the Arabians, and Herod, on account of the sin which Herod had committed against John. Moreover, the same Josephus writes thus concerning Christ: There was at this time Jesus, a wise man, if at least it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as willingly hear truth. He also drew over to him many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles. He was Christ. And when Pilate, at the accusation of the principal men of our nation, had decreed that he should be crucified, those that had loved him from the beginning did not forsake him, for he appeared to them the third day alive again, according to what the divinely inspired prophets had foretold, that these and innumerable other miracles should come to pass about him. Moreover, both the name and sect of Christians, who were named from him, continue in being unto this day.

About A. D. 1360. *Nicephorus Callistus Hist. Eccles. lib.* i. p. 90. 91.—Now this [concerning Herod the tetrarch] is attested to, not only by the book of the holy gospels, but by Josephus, that lover of truth: who also makes mention of Herodias his brother's wife, whom Herod had taken away from him, while he was alive, and married her, having divorced his former lawful wife, who was the daughter of Aretas, king of the Petrean Arabians. This Herodias he had married, and lived with her: on which account also, when he had slain John, he made war with Aretas, because his daughter had been dishonourably used; in which war he relates, that all Herod's army was destroyed, and that he suffered this on account of the most unjust slaughter of John. He also adds, that John was a most righteous man. Moreover, he makes mention of his baptism, agreeing in all points thereto relating with the gospel. He also informs us, that Herod lost his kingdom on account of Herodias, with whom also he was condemned to be banished to Vienna, which was their place of exile, and a city bordering upon Gaul, and lying near the utmost bounds of the west.

About A. D. 1450. *Hardmanus Schedelius Chron.* p. 110.—Josephus the Jew, who was called *Flavius*, a priest, and the son of Mattathias, a priest of that nation, a most celebrated historian, and very skilful in many things: he was certainly a good man, and of an excellent character, who had the highest opinion of Christ.

About A. D. 1480. *Platina de Vitis Pontificum in Christo.*—I shall avoid mentioning what Christ did until the 30th year of his age, when he was baptized by John, the son of Zacharias, because not only the gospels and epistles are full of those acts of his, which he did in the most excellent and most holy manner, but the books of such as were quite remote from his way of living, and acting, and ordaining, are also full of

the same. Flavius Josephus himself, who wrote twenty books of the Jewish Antiquities in the Greek tongue, when he had proceeded as far as the government of the emperor Tiberias, says, There was in those days Jesus, a certain wise man, if at least it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, and a teacher of men, of such especially as willingly hear the truth. On this account he drew over to him many both of the Jews and Gentiles: He was Christ. But when Pilate, instigated by the principal men of our nation, had decreed that he should be crucified, yet did not those that had loved him from the beginning forsake him: And besides, he appeared to them the third day after his death, alive, as the divinely inspired prophets had foretold that these and innumerable other miracles should come to pass about him. And the famous name of *Christians*, taken from him, as well as their sect, do still continue in being.

The same Josephus also affirms, that John the Baptist, a true prophet, and on that account one that was had in esteem by all men, was slain by Herod, the son of Herod the Great, a little before the death of Christ, in the castle of Macherus; not because he was afraid for himself, and his kingdom, as the same author says, but because he had incestuously married Herodias the sister of Agrippa, and the wife of that excellent person his brother Philip.

About A. D. 1480. *Trithemies Abbas de Scriptor. Eccles.*—Josephus the Jew, although he continued to be a Jew, did frequently commend the Christians; and in the eighteenth book of Antiquities, wrote down an eminent testimony concerning our Lord Jesus Christ.

Observations *from the foregoing* Evidence *and* Citations.

The *style* of all these original testimonies belonging to Josephus is exactly the style of the same Josephus, and especially the style about those parts of his Antiquities wherein we find these testimonies. This is denied by nobody as to the other, concerning John the Baptist and James the Just, and is now become equally undeniable as to that concerning Christ.

II. These testimonies therefore being confessedly and undeniably written by Josephus himself, it is next to impossible that he should wholly omit some testimony concerning Jesus Christ; nay, while his testimonies of John the Baptist, and James the Just, are so honourable, and give them so great characters, it is also impossible that this testimony concerning Christ should be other than very honourable, or such as afforded him a still greater character also. Could the very same author, who gave such a full and advantageous character of John the Baptist, the forerunner to Jesus of Nazareth, all whose disciples were by him directed to Jesus of Nazareth, as to the true Messias, and all whose disciples became afterwards the disciples of Jesus of Nazareth, say nothing honourable of that Jesus of Nazareth himself? and this is an history of those very times in which he was born, and lived, and died, and that while the writer lived but a little after him, in the same country in which he was born, and lived, and died? This is almost incredible. And further, could the very same author, who gave such an advantageous character of James the Just, and this under the very appellation of *James the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ*, which James was one of the principal disci-

ples or apostles of this Jesus Christ, and had been many years the only Christian bishop of the believing Jews of Judea and Jerusalem, in the very days, and in the very country of this writer? could he, I say, wholly omit any, nay, a very honourable account of Jesus Christ himself, whose disciple and bishop this James most certainly was? This is also almost incredible. Hear what Itigius, one of the wisest and learnedest of all those who have lately inclined to give up the testimony concerning Christ as it stands in our copies for spurious, says upon this occasion: "If any one object to me, that Josephus hath not omitted John the Baptist, the forerunner of Christ, nor James the disciple of Christ, and that therefore he could not have done the part of a good historian, if he had been entirely silent concerning Christ, I shall freely grant that Josephus was not entirely silent concerning Christ; nay, I shall further grant, that when Josephus was speaking of Christ he did not abstain from his commendation; for we are not to determine from that inveterate hatred which the modern Jews bear to Christ, what was the behaviour of those Jews, upon whom the miracles that were daily wrought by the apostles in the name of Christ imprinted a sacred horror."

III. The famous clause in this testimony of Josephus concerning Christ, *This was Christ, or the Christ*, did not mean that this Jesus was the *Christ of God*, or the *true Messiah* of the Jews, but that this Jesus was distinguished from all others of that name, of which there were a not few, as mentioned by Josephus himself, by the addition of the other name of *Christ;* or that this person was no other than he whom all the world knew by the name of *Jesus Christ*, and his followers by the name of *Christians*. This I esteem to be a clear case, and that from the arguments following:

(1.) The Greeks and Romans, for whose use Josephus wrote his Antiquities, could no otherwise understand these words. The Jews indeed, and afterwards the Christians, who knew that a great Messias, a person that was to be Christ, the *Anointed* of God, and that was to perform the office of a *King*, a *Priest*, and a *Prophet*, to God's people, might readily so understand this expression; but Josephus, as I have already noted, wrote here, not to Jews or Christians, but to Greeks and Romans, who knew nothing of this, but knew very well that an eminent person lived in Judea, whose name was *Jesus Christ;* or that Jesus Christ had founded a new and numerous sect, which took the latter of those names, and were every where from him called *Chrestians*, or *Christians;* in which sense alone could they understand these words of Josephus, and in which sense I believe he desired they should understand them: nor does Josephus ever use the Hebrew term *Messiah* in any of his writings, nor the Greek term *Christ* in any such acceptation elsewhere.

(2.) Josephus himself as good as explains his own meaning, and that by the last clause of this very passage, where he says, the Christians were named from this Christ without a syllable, as though he really meant he was the true Messiah, or *Christ of God*. He farther seems to me to explain this his meaning in that other place, where alone he elsewhere mentions this name of Christ, that is, when upon occasion of the mention of James, when he was condemned by Ananus, he calls him the *Brother of Jesus*, not that was the *true Messiah*, or *the true Christ*, but only *that was called Christ*.

(3.) It was quite beside the purpose of Josephus to declare himself here to be a Christian, or a believer in Jesus as the true Messiah. Had he intended so to do, he would surely have explained the meaning of the word *Christ* to his Greek and Roman readers; he would surely have been a great deal fuller and larger in his accounts of Christ, and of the Christian religion: Nor would such a declaration at that time have recommended him, or his nation, or his writings, to either the Greeks or the Romans; of his reputation with both which people he is known to have been in the writing of these Antiquities, very greatly solicitous.

(4.) Josephus's usual way of writing is historical and declarative of facts, and of the opinions of others, and but rarely such as directly informs us of his own opinion, unless we prudently gather it from what he says historically, or as the opinions of others. This is very observable in the writings of Josephus, and in particular as to what he says of John the Baptist, and of James the Just; so that this interpretation is most probable, as most agreeable to Josephus's way of writing in parallel cases.

(5.) This seems to be the universal sense of all the ancients without exception, who cite this testimony from him; and though they almost every where own this to be the true reading, yet do they every where suppose Josephus to be still an unbelieving Jew, and not a believing Christian: nay, Jerome appears so well assured of this interpretation, and that Josephus did not mean to declare any more by these words than a common opinion, that, according to his usual way of interpreting authors, not to the words but to the sense, (of which we have, I think, two more instances in his accounts out of Josephus, now before us) he renders this clause *credebatur esse Christus*, i. e. *He was believed to be Christ.* Nor is this parallel expression of Pilate to be otherwise understood, when he made that inscription on the cross, *This is Jesus, the king of the Jews**, which is well explained by himself elsewhere, and corresponds to the import of the present clause, *What shall I do with Jesus, who is called Christ*†? And we may full as well prove from Pilate's inscription upon the cross, that he hereby declared himself *a believer in Christ*, for the *real King of the Jews*, as we can from these words of Josephus, that he thereby declared himself to be a real believer in him, as the true Messiah.

IV. Though Josephus did not design here to declare himself openly to be a Christian, yet could he not possibly believe all that he here asserts concerning Jesus Christ, unless he were so far a Christian as the Jewish Nazarenes, or Ebionites then were, who believed Jesus of Nazareth to be the true Messiah, without believing he was more than a man; who also believed the necessity of the observation of the ceremonial law of Moses in order to salvation for all mankind, which were the two main articles of those Jewish Christians' faith, though in opposition to all the thirteen apostles of Jesus Christ in the first century, and in opposition to the whole Catholic Church of Christ in the following centuries also. Accordingly, I have elsewhere proved, that Josephus was no other in his own mind and conscience, than a Nazarene or Ebionite Jewish Christian: and have observed that this entire testimony, and all that Josephus says of John the Baptist, and of James, as well as his absolute silence

* Matth. xxvii. 2. † Matth. xxvii. 17. 22.

about all the rest of the apostles and their companions, exactly agrees to him under that character, and no other. And indeed to me it is most astonishing, that all our learned men, who have of late considered these testimonies of Josephus, except the converted Jew Galatinus, should miss such an obvious and natural observation. We all know this from St. James' own words, that *so many ten thousands of the Jews as believed in Christ*, in the first century, *were all zealous of the ceremonial law*, or were no other than Nazarene or Ebionite Christians; and, by consequence, if there were any reason to think our Josephus to be in any sense a believer, or a Christian, as from all these testimonies there were very great ones, all those, and many other reasons, could not but conspire to assure us, he was no other than a Nazarene or Ebionite Christian: And this I take to be the plain and evident key of this whole matter.

V. Since therefore Josephus appears to have been, in his own heart and conscience, no other than a Nazarene or Ebionite Christian, and by consequence, with them rejected all our Greek gospels and Greek books of the New Testament, and received only the Hebrew gospel of the Nazarenes or Ebionites, styled by them, *The gospel according to the Hebrews:* or *according to the twelve apostles;* or even *according to Matthew,* we ought always to have that Nazarene or Ebionite gospel, with the other Nazarene or Ebionite fragments in view, when we consider any passages of Josephus relating to Christ or to Christianity. Thus since that gospel omitted all that is in the beginning of our St. Matthew's and St. Luke's gospels, and began with the ministry of John the Baptist; in which first parts of the gospel-history are the accounts of the slaughter of the infants, and of the inrolment or taxation under Augustus Cæsar and Herod, it is no great wonder that Josephus has not taken care particularly and clearly to preserve those histories to us. Thus when we find that Josephus calls James the brother of Christ, by the name of *James the Just*, and describes him as a *most just and righteous man*, in an especial manner, we are to remember that such is his name and character in the gospel according to the Hebrews, and the other Ebionite remains of Hegesippus, but no where else that I remember, in the earliest antiquity: Nor are we to suppose they herein referred to any other than that *righteousness which was by the Jewish law*, wherein St. Paul* before he embraced Christianity, professed himself to have been *blameless*. Thus when Josephus, with other Jews, ascribed the miseries of that nation under Vespasian and Titus, with the destruction of Jerusalem, to the barbarous murder of James the Just, we must remember what we learn from the Ebionite fragments of Hegesippus, that these Ebionites interpreted a prophecy of Isaiah as foretelling this very murder, and those consequent miseries; *Let us take away the just one, for he is unprofitable to us; therefore shall they eat the fruit of their own ways*†. Thus when Josephus says, as we have seen, that the most equitable citizens of Jerusalem, and those that were most zealous of the law, were very uneasy at the condemnation of this James, and some of his friends or fellow Christians, by the high priest and sanhedrim, about A. D. 62. and declares that he himself was one of those Jews who thought the terrible

* Philip. iii. 4, 5, 6. † Isa. iii. 10.

miseries of that nation effects of the vengeance of God for their murder of this James, about A. D. 68. we may easily see those opinions could only be the opinions of converted Jews or Ebionites. The high priest and sanhedrim, who always persecuted the Christians, and now condemned these Christians, and the body of these unbelieving Jews, who are supposed to suffer for murdering this James, the head of the Nazarene or Ebionite Christians in Judea, could not, to be sure, be of that opinion: nor could Josephus§ himself be of the same opinion, as he declares he was, without the strongest inclinations to the Christian religion, or without being secretly a Christian Jew, *i. e.* a Nazarene or Ebionite; which thing is, by the way, a very great additional argument that such he was and no other. Thus, lastly, when Josephus is cited in Suidas as affirming that Jesus officiated with the priests in the temple, this account is by no means disagreeable to the pretensions of the Ebionites. Hegesippus affirms the very same of James the Just also.

VI. The first citation of the famous testimony concerning our Saviour from Tacitus, almost all that was true of the Jews is directly taken by him out of Josephus, as will be demonstrated under the third Dissertation hereafter.

VII. The second author I have alleged for it is Justin Martyr, one so nearly coeval with Josephus, that he might be born about the time when he wrote his Antiquities, appeals to the same Antiquities by that very name; and though he does not here directly quote them, yet does he seem to me to allude to this very testimony in them concerning our Saviour, when he affirms in this place to Trypho the Jew, That *his nation originally knew that Jesus was risen from the dead, and ascended into heaven, as the prophets did foretel was to happen.* Since there neither now is, nor probably in the days of Justin was any other Jewish testimony extant which is so agreeable to what Justin here affirms of those Jews, as is this of Josephus the Jew before us: Nor indeed does he seem to me to have had any thing else particular in his view here, but this very testimony, where Josephus says, "That Jesus appeared to his followers alive the "third day after his crucifixion, as the divine prophets had foretold these "and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him."

VIII. The third author I have quoted for Josephus's testimonies of John the Baptist, of Jesus of Nazareth, and of James the Just, is Origen, who is indeed allowed on all hands to have quoted him for the excellent characters of John the Baptist, and of James the Just, but whose supposed entire silence about this testimony concerning Christ is usually alleged as the principal argument against its being genuine, and particularly as to the clause, *This was the Christ,* and that, as we have seen, because he twice assures us, that in his opinion, *Josephus did not himself acknowledge Jesus for the Christ.* Now as to this latter clause, I have already shewed, that Josephus did not here, in writing to Greeks and Romans, mean any such thing by those words as Jews and Christians naturally understand by them: I have also observed, that all the ancients allow still, with Origen, that Josephus did not, in the Jewish and Christian sense, acknowledge Jesus for the true Messiah, or the true Christ of God; notwithstanding their express quotation of that clause in Josephus as genuine, so that unless we suppose Origen to have had a different notion of these words from all the other ancients, we cannot conclude

from this assertion of Origen's, that he had not these words in his copy, not to say that it is, after all, much more likely that his copy a little differed from the other copies in this clause, or indeed omitted it entirely, than that he, on its account must be supposed not to have had the rest of this testimony therein, though indeed I see no necessity of making any such supposal at all. However, it seems to me that Origen affords us four several indications that the main parts at least of this testimony itself were in his copy.

(1.) When Origen introduces Josephus's testimony concerning James the Just, that he thought the miseries of the Jews were an instance of the divine vengeance on that nation for putting James to death instead of Jesus, he uses an expression no way necessary to his purpose, nor occasioned by any words of Josephus there, that they had slain *that Christ which was foretold in the prophecies*. Whence could this expression come here into Origen's mind, when he was quoting a testimony of Josephus's concerning the brother of Christ, but from his remembrance of a clause in the testimony of the same Josephus concerning *Christ himself*, that *the prophets had foretold his death and resurrection, and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him?*

(2.) How came Origen to be so surprised at Josephus's ascribing the destruction of Jerusalem to the Jews, murdering of James the Just, and not to their murdering of Jesus, as we have seen he was, if he had not known that Josephus had spoken of Jesus, and his death before, and that he had a very good opinion of Jesus, which yet he could learn no way so authentically as from this testimony? Nor do the words he here uses, that Josephus was *not remote from the truth*, perhaps allude to any thing else but to this very testimony before us.

(3.) How came the same Origen, upon another slight occasion, when he had just set down that testimony of Josephus concerning James the Just, the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, to say, That "it may "be questioned whether the Jews thought Jesus to be a man, or whether "they did not suppose him to be a being of a diviner kind?" This looks so very like the fifth and sixth clauses of this testimony in Josephus, that *Jesus was a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man*, that it is highly probable Origin thereby alluded to them: And this is the more to be depended on, because all the unbelieving Jews, and all the rest of the Nazarene Jews, esteemed Jesus with one consent as a *mere man*, the son of Joseph and Mary; and it is not, I think, possible, to produce any one Jew but Josephus, who, in a sort of compliance with the Romans and the Catholic Christians, who thought him a *God*, would say any thing like his *being a God.*

(4.) How came Origen to affirm twice, so expressly, that *Josephus did not himself own*, in the Jewish and Christian sense, *that Jesus was Christ*, notwithstanding his quotation of such eminent testimonies out of him for John the Baptist his forerunner, and for James the Just his brother, and one of his principal disciples? There is no passage in all Josephus so likely to persuade Origen of this as is the famous testimony before us, wherein, as he and all the ancients understood it, he was generally called *Christ* indeed, but not any otherwise than as the common name whence the sect of Christians was derived, and where he all along speaks of those Christians as a sect then in being, whose author was a

wonderful person, and his followers great lovers of him and of the truth, yet as *such a sect as he had not joined himself to.* Which exposition, as it is a very natural one, so was it, I doubt, but too true of our Josephus at that time: Nor can I devise any other reason but this, and the parallel language of Josephus elsewhere, when he speaks of James as the *brother*, not *of Jesus who was Christ*, but *of Jesus who was called Christ*, that could so naturally induce Origin and others to be of that opinion.

IX. There are two remarkable passages in Suidas and Theophylact, already set down, as citing Josephus; the former, that *Jesus officiated with the priests in the temple;* and the latter that the destruction of Jerusalem and miseries of the Jews, were owing to their *putting Jesus to death*, which are in none of our present copies, nor cited thence by any ancienter authors, nor indeed do they seem altogether consistent with the other more authentic testimonies. However, since Suidas cites his passage from a treatise of Josephus's, called *Memoirs of the Jews' captivity*, a book never heard of elsewhere, and since both citations are not at all disagreeable to Josephus's character as a Nazarene or Ebionite, I dare not positively conclude that they are spurious, but must leave them in suspence, for the farther consideration of the learned.

X. As to that great critic Photius, in the ninth century, who is supposed not to have had this testimony in his copy of Josephus, or else to have esteemed it spurious, because, in his extracts out of Josephus's Antiquities, it is not expressly mentioned. This is a strange thing indeed! that a section which had been cited out of Josephus's copies all along before the days of Photius, as well as it has all along been cited out of them since his days, should be supposed not to be in his copy, because he does not directly mention it in certain short and imperfect extracts, no way particularly relating to such matters. Those who lay a stress on this silence of Photius, seem little to have attended to the nature and brevity of those extracts. They contain little or nothing, as he in effect professes at their entrance, but what concerns Antipater, Herod the Great, and his brethren and family, with their exploits, till the days of Agrippa, *jun.* and Cumanus, the governor of Judea, fifteen years after the death of our Saviour, without one word of Pilate, or what happened under his government, which yet was the only proper place in which this testimony could come to be mentioned. However, since Photius seems therefore, as we have seen, to suspect the treatise ascribed by some to Josephus, *of the Universe*, because it speaks very high things of the eternal generation and divinity of Christ, this looks very like his knowledge and belief of somewhat really in the same Josephus, which spake in a lower manner of him, which could be hardly any other passage than this testimony before us. And since, as we have also seen, when he speaks of the Jewish history of Justus of Tiberias, as infected with the prejudices of the Jews, in taking no notice of the advent, of the acts, and of the miracles of Jesus Christ, while yet he never speaks so of Josephus himself, this naturally implies also, that there was not the like occasion here as there, but that Josephus had not wholly omitted that advent, those acts, or miracles, which yet he has done every where else, in the books seen by Photius, as well as Justus of Tiberias, but in this famous testimony before us, so that it is most probable, Photius not only had this testimony in his copy, but believed it to be genuine also.

XI. As to the silence of Clement of Alexandria, who cites the Antiquities of Josephus, but never cites any of the testimonies now before us, it is no strange thing at all, since he never cites Josephus but once, and that for a point of chronology only, to determine how many years had passed from the days of Moses to the days of Josephus; so that his silence may almost as well be alleged against an hundred other remarkable passages in Josephus's works as against these before us.

XII. Nor does the like silence of Tertullian imply that these testimonies, or any of them, were not in the copies of his age. Tertullian never once hints at any treatises of Josephus's but those against Apion, and that in general only for a point of chronology: Nor does it any way appear that Tertullian ever saw any of Josephus's writings beside, and far from being certain that he saw even those. He had particular occasion in his dispute against the Jews to quote Josephus, above any other writer, to prove the completion of the prophecies of the Old Testament in the destruction of Jerusalem and miseries of the Jews at that time, of which he there discourses, yet does he never once quote him upon that solemn occasion, so that it seems to me, that Tertullian never read either the Greek Antiquities of Josephus, or his Greek books of the Jewish wars; nor is this at all strange in Tertullian, a Latin writer, that lived in Africa, by none of which African writers is there any one clause, that I know of, cited out of any of Josephus's writings: Nor is it worth my while, in such numbers of positive citations of these clauses, to mention the silence of other later writers, as being here of very small consequence.

DISSERTATION II.

Concerning GOD'S *command to* ABRAHAM *to offer up* ISAAC *his son for a Sacrifice.*

SINCE this command of God to Abraham * has of late been greatly mistaken by some, who venture to reason about very ancient facts, from very modern notions, and this without a due regard to either the customs, or opinions, or circumstances of the times whereto those facts belong, or indeed to the true reasons of the facts themselves; since the mistakes about these customs, opinions, circumstances, and reasons, have of late so far prevailed, that the very same action of Abraham's, which was so celebrated by St. Paul†, St. James‡, the author to the Hebrews‖, Philo§, and Josephus¶, in the first century, and by innumerable others since, as an uncommon instance of signal virtue, of heroic faith in God, and piety towards him; nay, is in the sacred †† history highly commended by the divine *Angel of the Covenant*, in the name of God himself, and promised to be plentifully rewarded; since this command, I say, is now at last in the eighteenth century, become a *stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence* among us, and that sometimes to persons of otherwise good sense, and of a religious disposition of mind also, I shall endeavour to set this matter in its true, *i. e.* in its ancient and original light, for the satisfaction of the inquisitive. In order whereto we are to consider,

* Gen. xxii. † Rom. iv. 16—25. ‡ James ii. 21. 22.
‖ Heb. xi. 17—19. § Phil. de Gyant. p. 294.
¶ Jos. Antiq. B. I. ch. xiii. †† Gen. xxii. 15—15.

1. That till this very profane age, it has been, I think, universally allowed by all sober persons, who owned themselves the creatures of God, that the Creator has a just right over all his rational creatures, to protract their lives to what length he pleases; to cut them off when and by what instruments he pleases; to afflict them with what sicknesses he pleases, and to remove them from one state or place in this his great palace of the universe to another, as he pleases; and that all those rational creatures are bound in duty and interest to acquiesce under the divine disposal, and to resign themselves up to the good providence of God in all such his dispensations towards them. I do not mean to intimate, that God may, or ever does act in these cases after a mere arbitrary manner, or without sufficient reason, believing, according to the whole tenor of natural and revealed religion, that he hateth nothing that he hath made*; that whatsoever he does, how melancholy soever it may appear at first sight to us, is really intended for the good of his creatures, and at the upshot of things, will fully appear so to be: but that still he is not obliged, nor does in general give his creatures an account of the particular reasons of such his dispensations towards them immediately, but usually tries and exercises their faith and patience, their resignation and obedience, in their present state of probation, and reserves those reasons to the last day, *the day of the revelation of the righteous judgment of God*†.

2. That the entire histories of the past ages, from the days of Adam till now, do shew, that Almighty God has ever exercised his power over mankind, and that without giving them an immediate account of the reasons of such his conduct; and that withal the best and wisest men of all ages, Heathens as well as Jews, and Christians, Marcus Antonius, as well as the patriarch Abraham, and St. Paul, have ever humbly submitted themselves to this conduct of the divine providence, and always confessed that they were obliged to the undeserved goodness and mercy of God for every enjoyment, but could not demand any of them of his justice, no not so much as the continuance of that life whereto those enjoyments do appertain. When God was pleased to sweep the wicked race of men away by a flood, the young innocent infants as well as the guilty old sinners: when he was pleased to shorten the lives of men after the flood, and still downward till the days of David and Solomon; when he was pleased to destroy impure Sodom and Gomorrha by fire and brimstone from heaven, and to extirpate the main body of the Amorites out of the land of Canaan, as soon as *their iniquities were full*‡, and in these instances included the young innocent infants, together with the old hardened sinners: when God was pleased to send an angel, and by him to destroy 185,000 Assyrians, (the number attested to by Berosus the Chaldean, as well as by our own Bibles), in the days of Hezekiah, most of which seem to have had no other peculiar guilt upon them than that common to soldiers in war, of obeying, without reserve, their king Senacherib, his generals and captains, and when, at the plague of Athens, London, Marseilles, &c. so many thousand righteous men and women, with innocent babes, were swept away on a sudden by a fatal contagion, I do not remember that sober men have complained that God dealt unjustly with such his creatures, in those to us seemingly severe dispensa-

* Wisd. xi. 14. † Rom. ii. 5. ‡ Gen. xv. 16.

tions: Nor are we certain when any such seemingly severe dispensations are really such, nor do we know but shortening the lives of men may sometimes be the greatest blessing to them, and prevent or put a stop to those courses of gross wickedness which might bring them to a greater misery in the world to come: nor is it fit for such poor, weak, and ignorant creatures as we are, in the present state, to call our Almighty, and All-wise, and All-good Creator and Benefactor to an account, upon any such occasions; since we cannot but acknowledge that it is *He that hath made us, and not we ourselves*;* that we are nothing, and have nothing of ourselves, independent of him; but that all we are, all we have, and all we hope for, is derived from him, from his free and undeserved bounty, which therefore he may justly take from us in what way soever, and whensoever he pleases; all wise and good men still saying in such cases, with the pious Psalmist, xxxix. 9. "I was dumb, I opened not my "mouth, because thou didst it;" and with patient Job, i. 21. ii. 10. "Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall not we re-"ceive evil? The Lord gave, and the Lord took away, blessed be the "name of the Lord." If therefore this shortening or taking away the lives of men be no objection against any divine command for that purpose, it is full as strong against the present system of the world, against the conduct of divine providence in general, and against natural religion, which is founded on the justice of that providence, and is no way peculiar to revealed religion, or to the fact of Abraham now before us. Nor is this case much different from what was soon after the days of Abraham thoroughly settled, after Job, and his friends' debates, by the inspiration of Elihu, and the determination of God himself, where the divine providence was at length thoroughly cleared and justified before all the world, as it will be, no question, more generally cleared and justified, at the final judgment.

3. That till this profane age, it has also, I think, been universally allowed by all sober men, that a command of God, when sufficiently made known to be so, is abundant authority for the taking away the life of any person whomsoever. I doubt both ancient and modern princes, generals of armies, and judges, even those of the best reputation also, have ventured to take many men's lives away upon much less authority: Nor indeed do the most sceptical of the moderns care to deny this authority directly; they rather take a method of objecting somewhat more plausible, though it amount to much the same: they say, that the apparent disagreement of any command to the moral attributes of God, such as this of the slaughter of an only child seems plainly to be, will be a greater evidence that such command does not come from God, than any pretended revelation can be that it does. But as to this matter, although divine revelations have now so long ceased, that we are not well acquainted with the manner of conveying such revelations with certainty to men, and by consequence the apparent disagreement of a command with the moral attributes of God, ought at present generally, if not constantly, to deter men from acting upon such a pretended revelation, yet there was no such uncertainty in the days of the old prophets of God, or of Abraham, the friend of God†, who are ever found to have had an entire

* Psal. c. 3.

† Isa. xli. 8.

certainty of those their revelations: And what evidently shews they were not deceived, is this, that the events and consequences of things afterwards always corresponded, and secured them of the truth of such divine revelations. Thus the first miraculous voice from heaven*, calling to Abraham not to execute this command, and the performance of those eminent promises made by the second voice†, on account of his obedience to that command, are demonstrations that Abraham's commission for what he did was truly divine, and are an entire justification of his conduct in this matter. The words of the first voice from heaven will come hereafter to be set down in a fitter place, but the glorious promises made to Abraham's obedience by the second voice, must here be produced from verse 15—18. "And the angel of the Lord called unto Abraham out of heaven the second time, and said, By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord; for because thou hast done this thing, and hast not withheld thy son, thine only son from me, that in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and as the sand which is upon the sea shore; and thy seed shall possess the gate of his enemies: and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed, because thou hast obeyed my voice." Every one of which promises have been eminently fulfilled; and, what is chiefly remarkable, the last and principal of them, that *in Abraham's* SEED *all the nations of the earth should be blessed*, was never promised till this time. It had been twice promised him, chap. xii. ver. 3. and xviii. 18. that *in himself should all the families of the earth be blessed*, but that this blessing was to belong to future times, and to be bestowed by the means of one of his late posterity, that great Seed and Son of Abraham only, was never revealed before, but on such an amazing instance of his faith and obedience as was this his readiness to offer up his only begotten son Isaac, was now first promised, and has been long ago performed, in the birth of Jesus of Nazareth, *the Son of David, the Son of Abraham*‡, which highly deserves our observation in this place: Nor can we suppose that any thing else than clear conviction that this command came from God, could induce so good a man, and so tender a father as Abraham was, to sacrifice his own beloved son, and to lose thereby all the comfort he received from him at present, and all the expectation he had of a numerous and happy posterity from him hereafter.

(4.) That long before the days of Abraham the dæmons or heathen gods had required and received human sacrifices, and particularly that of the offerer's own children, and this both before and after the deluge. This practice had been indeed so long left off in Egypt, and the custom of sacrificing animals there was confined to so few kinds in the days of Herodotus, that they would not believe they had ever offered human sacrifices at all: for he says‖, "That the fable, as if Hercules was sacrificed to Jupiter in Egypt was feigned by the Greeks, who were entirely unacquainted with the nature of the Egyptians, and their laws, for how should they sacrifice men, with whom it is unlawful to sacrifice any brute beast? (boars, and bulls, and pure calves, and ganders, only excepted.)" However, it is evident from Sanchoniatho, Manetho, Pau-

* Gen. xxii. 11, 12.
† Gen. xxii. 17, 18.
‡ Matth. i. 1.
‖ Ap. Marsh. Chron. p. 303.

sanias, Diodorus Siculus, Philo, Plutarch, and Porphyry, that such sacrifices were frequent both in Phœnicia and Egypt, and that long before the days of Abraham, as Sir John Marsham and Bishop Cumberland have fully proved: nay, that in other places, (though not in Egypt,) this cruel practice continued long after Abraham, and this till the very third, if not also to the fifth century of Christianity, before it was quite abolished. Take the words of the original author in English, as most of them occur in the originals, in Sir John Marsham's Chronicum, p. 76—78, 300—304.

"Chronus * offered up his only begotten son as a burnt-offering, to his father Ouranus, when there was a famine and a pestilence."

"† Chronus, whom the Phœnicians name *Israel* [it should be *Il*], and who was after his death consecrated unto the star Saturn, when he was king of the country, and had by a nymph of that country, named *Anobret*, an only begotten son, whom, on that account, they called *Jeud*, (the Phœnicians to this day calling an only begotten son by that name), he, in his dread of very great dangers that lay upon the country from war, adorned his son with royal apparel, and built an altar, and offered him in sacrifice?"

The ‡ Phenicians, when they were in great danger by war, by famine, or by pestilence, sacrificed to Saturn one of the dearest of their people, whom they chose by public suffrage for that purpose. And Sanchoniatho's Phœnician history is full of such sacrifices. [These hitherto I take to have been before the flood.]

"In Arabia, the Dumatii sacrificed a child every year‖."

"§ They relate, that of old the [Egyptian] kings sacrificed such men as were of the same colour with Typho, at the sepulchre of Osiris."

"¶ Manetho relates, that they burnt Typonean men alive in the city Iditha, [or Ilithyia,] and scattered their ashes like chaff that is winnowed; and this was done publicly, and at a set season in the dog-days."

"= The barbarous nations did a long time admit of the slaughter of children, as of an holy practice, and acceptable to the gods.—And this thing both private persons, and kings, and entire nations, practise at proper seasons."

"** The human sacrifices that were enjoined by the Dodonean oracle, mentioned in Pausanias's Achaics, in the tragical story of Coresus and Callirrhoe, sufficiently intimate that Phœnician and Egyptian priests had set up this Dodonean oracle before the time of Amosis, who destroyed that barbarous practice in Egypt."

——Isque adytis hæc tristia dicta reportat,
Sanguine placastis, ventos, et virgine cæsa,
Cum primum Iliacas Dania venistis ad oras;
Sanguine quærendi reditus, animaque litandum
Argolica††

—— He from the gods this dreadful answer brought,
O Grecians, when the Trojan shores you sought,

* Philo. Bib. ex Sanchon. p. 76.
† Porphyry, p. 77.
‡ Philo, Bib. ex Sanchon. p. 77.
‖ Diod. p. 78.
§ Porphyry; p. 77.
¶ Plutarch, p. 78.
= Nonullii ap. Philon. p. 76.
** Cumberl. Sanchon. p. 378.
†† Virg. Æneid, B. II. ver. 116.

Your passage with a virgin's blood was bought;
So must your safe return, be bought again,
And Grecian blood once more atone the main. DRYDEN.

These bloody sacrifices were, for certain, instances of the greatest degree of impiety, tyranny, and cruelty, in the world, that either wicked Dæmons, or wicked men, who neither made, nor preserved mankind, who had therefore no right over them, nor were they able to make them amends in the next world for what they thus lost or suffered in this, should, after so inhuman a manner, command the taking away the lives of men, and particularly of the offerer's own children, without the commission of any crime. This was, I think, an abomination derived from him who was *a murderer from the beginning**; a crime truly and properly diabolical.

5. That accordingly Almighty God himself, under the Jewish dispensation, vehemently condemned the Pagans, and sometimes the Jews themselves for this crime: and for this, and other heinous sins, cast the idolatrous nations (nay, sometimes the Jews too) out of Palestine. Take the principle texts hereto relating, as they lie in order in the Old Testament.

"† Thou shalt not let any of thy seed pass through the fire to Molech.—Defile not yourself in any of these things, for in all these the nations are defiled, which I cast out before you." &c.

"‡ Whosoever he be of the children of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn in Israel, that giveth any of his seed unto Molech, he shall surely be put to death; the people of the land shall stone him with stones."

"Take heed to thyself, that thou be not snared by following the nations, after that they be destroyed from before thee; and that thou enquire not after their gods, saying, How did these nations serve their gods, even so will I do likewise. Thou shalt not do so unto the Lord thy God; for every abomination of the Lord, which he hateth have they done unto their gods, for even their sons and their daughters have they burnt in the fire to their gods." See Deut. xii. 30, 31. chap. xviii. 18. 2 Kings xvii. 17.

"|| And Ahaz made his son to pass through the fire, according to the abomination of the heathen, whom the Lord cast out before the children of Israel."

"§ Moreover, Ahaz burnt incense in the valley of the son of Hinnom, and burnt his children [his son in Josephus] in the fire, after the abominations of the heathen, whom the Lord cast out before the children of Israel."

"¶ And the Sepharites burnt their children in the fire to Adrammelech, and Anamelech, the gods of Sepharvaim." &c.

"= And Josiah defiled Topheth, which is in the valley of the children of Hinnom, that no man might make his son or his daughter to pass through the fire unto Molech."

"ꟹ Yea, they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto dæmons;

* John viii. 44. † Lev. xviii. 21. ‡ Lev. xx. 2.
|| 2 Kings xv. 3. § 2 Chron. xxviii. 3. ¶ 2 Kings xvii. 31.
= 2 Kings xxiii. 10. ꟹ Psal. xvi. 37, 38.

and shed innocent blood, the blood of their sons and of their daughters, whom they sacrificed unto the idols of Canaan, and the land was polluted with blood." See Isa. lvii. 5.

"* The children of Judah hath done evil in my sight, saith the Lord; they have set their abominations in the house which is called by my name to pollute it: And they have built the high places of Topheth, which is in the valley of the son of Hinnom, to burn their sons and their daughters in the fire, which I commanded them not, neither came it into my heart."

"† Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel, behold I will bring evil upon this place, the which whosoever heareth his ears shall tingle, because they have forsaken me, and have estranged this place, and have burned incense unto other gods, whom neither they nor their fathers have known, nor the kings of Judah, and have filled this place with the blood of innocents. They have built also the high places of Baal, to burn their sons with fire for burnt-offerings unto Baal, which I commanded not, nor spake it, neither came it into my mind." &c.

"‡ They built the high places of Baal, which are in the valley of the son of Hinnom to cause their sons and their daughters to pass through the fire unto Molech, which I commanded them not, neither came it into my mind that they should do this abomination, to cause Judah to sin."

"‖ Moreover thou hast taken thy sons and thy daughters, whom thou hast born unto me, and these hast thou sacrificed unto them to be devoured. Is this of thy whoredoms a small matter, that thou hast slain my children, and delivered them to cause them to pass through the fire for them." See chap. xx. 26. 1 Cor. v. 20.

"§ Thou hatest the old inhabitants of thy holy land, for doing most odious works of witchcraft, and wicked sacrifices; and also those merciless murderers of children, and devourers of man's flesh, and the feasts of blood, with their priests, out of the midst of their idolatrous crew, and the parents that killed with their own hands souls destitute of help."

6. That Almighty God never permitted, in any one instance, that such a human sacrifice should be actually offered to himself, (though he had a right to have required it, if he had so pleased,) under the whole Jewish dispensation, which yet was full of many other kinds of sacrifices, and this at a time when mankind generally thought such sacrifices of the greatest virtue for the procuring pardon of sin, and the divine favour, this the ancient records of the heathen world attest. Take their notion in the words of Philo Byblius, the translator of Sanchoniatho:¶ "It was the custom of the ancients, in the greatest calamities and danger, for the governors of the city or nation, in order to avert the destruction of all, to devote their beloved son to be slain, as a price of redemption to the punishing [or avenging] dæmons: and those so devoted were killed after a mystical manner." This the history of the king of Moab=, when he was in great distress in his war against Israel and Judah, informs us of; who "then took his eldest son, that should have reigned in his stead,

* Jer. vii. 30, 31, 32. † Jer. xix. 3, 4, 5. ‡ Jer. xxxii 35.
‖ Ezek. xvi. 20, 21. § Wisd. xii. 4, 5, 9.
¶ Ap. Marsh. p. 76, 77. = 2 Kings iii. 27.

and offered him for a burnt-offering upon the city wall." This also the Jewish prophet Micah * implies, when he requires, "Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the High God? Shall I come before him with burnt-offerings, with calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, with ten thousands of fat kids of the goats? Shall I give my first born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?" No certainly, "For he hath shewed thee, O man, what is good, and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to humble thyself to walk with thy God?"

It is true, God did here try the faith and obedience of Abraham to himself, whether they were as strong as the Pagans exhibited to their dæmons or idols, yet did he withal take effectual care, and that by a miraculous interposition also, to prevent the execution, and provided himself a ram, as a vicarious substitute, to supply the place of Isaac immediately: † "And the angel of the Lord called unto Abraham, and said, Abraham, Abraham; and he said, Here am I. And he said, Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou any thing unto him; for now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, from me. And Abraham, lifted up his eyes, and looked, and behold a ram caught in a thicket by his horns; and Abraham went and took the ram, and offered him up for a burnt-offering in the stead of his son." Thus though Jephtha ‡ has, by many, been thought to have vowed to offer up his only daughter and child for a sacrifice, and that as bound on him, upon supposition of his vow, by a divine law, Levit. xxvii. 28, 29. of which opinion I was once myself, yet upon more mature consideration, I have, for some time, thought this to be a mistake, and that his vow extended only to her being devoted to serve God at the tabernacle, or elsewhere, in a state of perpetual virginity; and that neither that law did enjoin any human sacrifices, nor do we meet with any example of its execution in this sense afterwards. Philo never mentions any such law, no more than Josephus: And when Josephus had thought that Jephtha had made such a vow, and executed it, he is so far from hinting at its being done in compliance with any law of God, that he expressly condemns him for it, as having acted contrary thereto; or, in his own words‖, "as having offered an oblation neither conformable to the law, nor acceptable to God, nor weighing with himself what opinion the hearers would have of such a practice."

7. That Isaac being at this time, according to Josephus§, who is herein justly followed by Archb. Usher¶, no less than twenty-five years of age, and Abraham being, by consequence, one hundred and twenty-five, it is not to be supposed that Abraham could bind Isaac, in order to offer him in sacrifice, but by his own free consent; which free consent of the party who is to offer seems absolutely necessary in all such cases: and which free consent St. Clement, as well as Josephus, distinctly takes notice of on this occasion, St. Clement describes it thus: "= Isaac being fully persuaded of what he knew was to come, cheerfully yielded

* Micah vi. 6—8. † Gen. xxii. 11—13. ‡ Jud. xi. 36—39.
‖ Antiq. B. V. 7—10. § Antiq. B. I. chap. ii.
¶ Ush. Annal. *ad, A. M.* 2133. = 1 Clem. sect. 3.

himself up for a sacrifice. And for Josephus*, after introducing Abraham in a pathetic speech, laying before Isaac the divine command, and exhorting him patiently and joyfully to submit to it, he tells us, that Isaac very cheerfully consented;" and then introduces him as giving a short, but very pious answer, acquiescing in the proposal; and adds, that "he then immediately and readily went to the altar to be sacrificed." Nor did Jephtha† perform his rash vow, whatever it were, till his daughter had given her consent to it.

8. It appears to me that Abraham never despaired entirely of the interposition of providence for the preservation of Isaac, although in obedience to the command he prepared to sacrifice him to God. This seems to me intimated in Abraham's words to his servants, on the third day, when he was in sight of the mountain on which he was to offer his son Isaac; ‡ "We will go and worship, and we will come again to you." As also in his answer to his son, when he inquired, "Behold the fire and the wood, but where is the lamb for a burnt-offering? And Abraham said, My son, God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt-offering." Both these passages look, to me, somewhat like such an expectation. However,

9. It appears most evident, that Abraham, and I suppose Isaac also, firmly believed, that if God should permit Isaac to be actually slain as a sacrifice; he would certainly and speedily raise him again from the dead. This, to be sure, is supposed in the words already quoted, that both "he and his son would go and worship, and come again to the servants;" and is clearly and justly collected from this history by the author to the Hebrews, chap. xi. 17, 18, 19. "By faith Abraham when he was tried offered up Isaac, and he that had received the promises offered up his only begotten, of whom it was said, that in Isaac shall thy seed be called, accounting, or reasoning, that God was able to raise him from the dead." And this reasoning was at once very obvious, and wholly undeniable; that since God was truth itself, and had over and over promised that he would || "multiply Abraham exceedingly: that he should be a father of many nations; that his name should be no longer Abram but Abraham, because a father of many nations God had made him, &c. that Sarai his wife should be called Sarah, that he would bless her, and give Abraham a son also of her; and that he would bless him, and she should become nations, and kings of people should be of her, &c.; and that § in Isaac should his seed be called." And since withal it is here supposed, that Isaac was to be slain as a sacrifice, before he was married, or had any seed, God was, for certain, obliged by his promises, in these circumstances, to raise Isaac again from the dead; and this was an eminent instance of that *faith* whereby "¶ Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness," *viz.* that if God should permit Isaac to be sacrificed, he would certainly and quickly raise him up again from the dead=, "from whence also he received him in a figure," as the author to the Hebrews here justly observes.

* Antiq. B. I. ch. xii. sect. 3. † Judges xi. 36, 37. ‡ Gen. xxii. 5, 7.
|| Gen. xvii. 2, 4, 5, 6, 16. § Gen. xxi. 12.
¶ Gen. xv. 6. = Heb. xi. 19.

10. That the firm and just foundation of Abraham's faith and assurance in God for such a resurrection, was this, besides the general consideration of the divine veracity, that during the whole time of his sojourneying in strange countries, in Canaan and Egypt, ever since he had been called out of Chaldea or Mesopotamia at seventy-five years of age, he had * had constant experience of a special, of an over-ruling, of a kind and gracious providence over him, till this his 125th year, which against all human views had continually blessed him, and enriched him, and, in his elder age, had given him first Ishmael by Hagar, and afterwards promised him Isaac to "† spring from his own body now dead, ‡ and from the deadness of Sarah's womb, when she was past age, and when it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women, ‖ and had actually performed that and every other promise, how improbable soever that performance had appeared, he had ever made to him, and this during fifty entire years together; so that although at his first exit out of Chaldea, or Mesopotamia, he might have been tempted to "stagger at such a promise of God through unbelief§, yet might he now after fifty years constant experience; be justly "strong in faith, giving glory to God; as being fully persuaded, that what God had promised," the resurrection of Isaac, "he was both able and willing to perform."

11. That this assurance therefore, that God, if he permitted Isaac to be slain, would infallibly raise him again from the dead, entirely alters the state of the case of Abraham's sacrificing Isaac to the true God, from that of all other human sacrifices whatsoever offered to false ones, all those others being done without the least promise or prospect of such a resurrection; and this indeed takes away all pretence of injustice in the divine command, as well as of all inhumanity or cruelty in Abraham's obedience to it.

12. That upon the whole, this command to Abraham, and what followed upon it, looks so very like an intention of God to typify or represent before hand in Isaac, "a beloved;" or "only begotten son," what was to happen long afterwards to the great "Son and seed of Abraham," the Messiah, the beloved and "the only begotten of the Father, whose day Abraham saw by faith before hand; and rejoiced to see it¶," *viz.* that "he by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God should be crucified, and slain," = as a sacrifice, and should "be raised again the third day," and this at Jerusalem also; and that in the mean time, God would accept of the sacrifices of rams, and the like animals at the same city Jerusalem, that one cannot easily avoid the application. This seems the reason why Abraham was obliged to go to the land of Moriah, or Jerusalem, and why it is noted, that it was "the third day" ↭ that he came to the place, which implies that the return back, after the slaying of the sacrifice, would naturally be "the third day" also: and why this sacrifice was not Ishmael "the son of the flesh" only, but Isaac the son by promise, the *beloved* son of Abraham, and why Isaac was styled the *only son*, or *only begotten son* of Abraham, though he had Ishmael besides; and why Isaac himself was *to bear the wood*†† on which he was to be

* Gen. xii. 4. † Rom. iv. 19. ‡ Heb. xi. 11. ‖ Gen. xviii. 11.
§ Rom. iv. 20, 21. ¶ John viii. 56. = Acts ii. 33.
↭ Gen. xxii. 2, 4. †† Gen. xxii. 6.

sacrificed*; and why the place was no other than † *the land of Moriah*, or *vision*, *i. e.* most probably a place where the Shecinah or Messiah had been *seen*, and God by him worshipped, even before the days of Abraham, and where lately lived, and perhaps now lived Melchisedeck, the grand type of the Messiah (who might then possibly be present at the sacrifice,) and why this sacrifice was to be offered either on the mountain called afterwards distinctly *Moriah*, where the temple stood, and where all the Mosaic sacrifices were afterward to be offered, as Josephus ‡ and the generality suppose, or perhaps, as others suppose, that where the Messiah himself was to be offered, its neighbour mount Calvary. This seems also the reason why the ram was substituted as a vicarious sacrifice instead of Isaac. These circumstances seem to me very peculiar and extraordinary, and to render the present hypothesis extremely probable. Nor perhaps did St. Clement mean any thing else, when in his fore-cited passage, he says, That "Isaac was fully persuaded of what he knew was to come," and therefore "cheerfully yielded himself up for a sacrifice." Nor indeed does that name of this place, *Jehovah Jireh*, which continued till the days of Moses, and signified, *God will see*, or rather, *God will provide*, seem to be given it by Abraham, on any other account, than that God would there in the fulness of time, "provide himself a lamb [that ‖ Lamb of God which was to take away the sins of the world] for a burnt-offering."

But now, if after all, it be objected, that how peculiar, and how typical soever the circumstances of Abraham and Isaac might be in themselves, of which the heathens about them could have little notion, yet such a divine command to Abraham for slaying his beloved son Isaac, must however be of very ill example to the Gentile world, and that it probably did either first occasion, or at least greatly encourage their wicked practices, in offering their children for sacrifices to their idols, I answer by the next consideration:

13. That this objection is so far from truth, that God's public and miraculous prohibition of the execution of this command to Abraham, (which command itself the Gentiles would not then at all be surprised at, because it was so like to their own usual practices) as well as God's substitution of a vicarious oblation, seems to have been the very occasion of the immediate *abolition* of those impious sacrifices by Tethmosis, or Amosis, among the neighbouring Egyptians, and of the *substitution* of more inoffensive ones there instead of them. Take the account of this abolition, which we shall presently prove was about the time of Abraham's offering up his son Isaac, as it is preserved by Porphyry, from Manetho, the famous Egyptian historian and chronologer, which is almost cited from Porphyry by Eusebius and Theodoret: "Amosis, § says Porphyry, abolished the law for slaying of men in Heliopolis of Egypt, as Manetho bears witness in his book of Antiquity and Piety. They were sacrificed to Juno, and were examined, as were the pure calves, that were also sealed with them: they were sacrificed three in a day. In whose stead Amosis commanded that men of wax, of the same number, should be substituted."

* Gen. xxii. 6. † Gen. xxii. 2. ‡ Antiq. B. I. ch. xiii. sect. 2. ‖ John i. 29. § Marsh. p. 301.

Now I have lately shewn, that these Egyptians had Abraham in great veneration, and that *all the wisdom of these Egyptians, in which Moses was afterwards learned*, was derived from no other than from Abraham. Now it appears evidently by the fore-cited passage, that the first abolition of these human sacrifices, and the substitution of waxen images in their stead, and particularly at Heliopolis, in the north east part of Egypt, in the neighbourhood of Beersheba, in the south of Palestine, where Abraham now lived, at the distance of about an hundred and twenty miles only, was in the days, and by the order of Tethmosis or Amosis, who was the first of the Egyptian kings, after the expulsion of the Phenician shepherds. Now therefore we are to inquire, when this Tethmosis or Amosis lived, and compare his time with the time of the sacrifice of Isaac. Now if we look my chronological table, published A. D. 1721, we shall find that the hundred and twenty-fifth year of Abraham, or, which is all one, the twenty-fifth year of Isaac, falls into A. M. 2573, or into the thirteenth year of Tethmosis or Amosis, which is the very middle of his twenty-five years reign; so that this abolition of human sacrifices in Egypt, and substitution of others in their room, seems to have been occasioned by the solemn prohibition of such a sacrifice in the case of Abraham, and by the following substitution of a ram in its stead: Which account of this matter not only takes away the groundless suspicions of the moderns, but shews the great seasonableness of the divine prohibition of the execution of this command to Abraham, as probably the direct occasion of putting a stop to the barbarity of the Egyptians in offering human sacrifices, and that for many, if not for all generations afterward.

DISSERTATION III.

TACITUS'S *Account of the Origin of the* JEWISH NATION, *and of the particulars of the last Jewish War, that the former was probably written in opposition to Josephus's* ANTIQUITIES, *and that the latter was for certain almost all directly taken from Josephus's History of the* JEWISH WAR.

SINCE Tacitus, the famous Roman historian, who has written more largely and professedly about the origin of the Jewish nation, about the chorography of Judea, and the last Jewish war under Cestius, Vespasian, and Titus, than any other old Roman historian; and since both Josephus and Tacitus were in favour with the same Roman Emperors, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian; and since Tacitus was an eminent pleader and writer of history at Rome, during the time, or not long after our Josephus had been there studying the Greek language, reading the Greek books, and writing his own works in the same Greek language, which language was almost universally known at Rome in that age; and since therefore it is next to impossible to suppose that Tacitus could be unacquainted with the writings of Josephus, it cannot but be highly proper to compare their accounts of Judea, of the Jews, and of Jewish affairs, together. Nor is it other than a very surprising paradox to me, how it has been possible for learned men, particularly for the several learned editors of Josephus and Tacitus, to be so very silent about this matter as they have hitherto been, especially when not only the correspondence of the authors as to time and place, but the likeness of the subject mat-

ter and circumstances is so very remarkable; nay, indeed, since many of the particular facts belonged peculiarly to the region of Judea, and to the Jewish nation, and are such as could hardly be taken by a foreigner from any other author than from our Josephus, this strange silence is almost unaccountable, if not inexcusable. The two only other writers whom we know of, whence such Jewish affairs might be supposed to be taken by Tacitus, who never appears to have been in Judea himself, are Justus of Tiberias, a Jewish historian, contemporary with Josephus, and one Antonius Julianus, once mentioned by Minutius Felix, in his Octavius, sect. 33. as having written on the same subject with Josephus, and both already mentioned by me on another occasion, Dissert. I. As to Justus of Tiberias, he could not be the historian whence Tacitus took his Jewish affairs, because, as we have seen in the place just cited, the principal passage in Tacitus of that nature, concerning Christ, and his sufferings under the Emperor Tiberius, and by his procurator Pontius Pilate, was not there as we know from the testimony of Photius, Cod. xxx. And as to Antonius Julianus, his very name shews him to have been not a Jew, but a Roman. He is never mentioned by Josephus, and so probably knew no more of the country or affairs of Judea than Tacitus himself. He was, I suppose, rather an epitomizer of Josephus, and not so early as Tacitus, than an original historian himself before him. Nor could so exact a writer as Tacitus ever take up with such poor and almost unknown historians as these were, while Josephus's seven books of the Jewish war were then so common; were in such great reputation at Rome; were attested to, and recommended by Vespasian and Titus, the Emperors, by King Agrippa, and King Archelaus, and Herod King of Chalcis; and he was there honoured with a statue: and these his books were deposited at the public library at Rome, as we know from Josephus himself, from Eusebius, and Jerome, while we never heard of any other history of the Jews that had then and there any such attestations or recommendations. Some things indeed Tacitus might take from the Roman records of this war, I mean from the commentaries of Vespasian, which are mentioned by Josephus himself, in his own Life, sect 65, vol. iii. and some others from the relations of Roman people, where the affairs of Rome were concerned: as also other affairs might be remembered by old officers and soldiers that had been in the Jewish war. Accordingly I still suppose that Tacitus had some part of his information these ways, and particularly where he a little differs from, or makes additions to Josephus: but then, as this will all reach no farther than three or four years during this war, so will it by no means account for that abridgment of the geography of the country, an entire series of the principal facts of history thereto relating, which are in Tacitus, from the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, 240 years before that war, with which Antiochus both Josephus and Tacitus begin their distinct histories of the Jews, preparatory to the history of this last war. Nor could Tacitus take the greatest parts of those earlier facts belonging to the Jewish nation from the days of Moses, or to Christ and Christians in the days of Tiberius, from Roman authors: of which Jewish and Christian affairs those authors had usually very little knowledge, and which the heathens generally did grossly pervert and shamefully falsify: and this is so true as to Tacitus's own accounts of the origin of the Jewish nation, that the reader may al-

must take it for a constant-rule, that when Tacitus contradicts Josephus's Jewish Antiquities, he either tells direct falsehoods, or truths so miserably disguised, as renders them little better than falsehoods, and hardly ever light upon any thing relating to them that is true and solid, but when the same is in those Antiquities at this day; of which matters more will be said in the notes on this history immediately following.

HISTORY OF THE JEWS.

Book V. Chap. II.

Since we are now going to relate the final period of this famous city [Jerusalem], it seems proper to give an account of its original*.—The tradition is, that the Jews ran away from the island of Crete, and settled themselves on the coast of Libya, and this at the time when Saturn was driven out of his kingdom by the power of Jupiter: An argument for it is fetched from their name. The mountain Ida is famous in Crete; and the neighbouring inhabitants are named *Idæi*, which, with a barbarous augment, becomes the name of *Judæi* [Jews]. Some say they were a people that were very numerous in Egypt under the reign of Isis, and that the Egyptians got free from that burden, by sending them into the adjoining countries, under their captains Hierosolymus and Judas. The greatest part say, they were those Ethiopians whom fear and hatred obliged to change their habitations, in the reign of King Cepheus†. There are those who report that they were Assyrians, who wanting lands got together, and obtained part of Egypt, and soon afterward settled themselves in cities of their own, in the land of the Hebrews, and the parts of Syria that lay nearest to them‡. Others pretend their origin to be more eminent, and that the Solymi, a people celebrated in Homer's poems, were the founders of this nation, and gave this their own name Hierosolyma to the city which they built there||.

Chap. III.] Many authors agree, that when once an infectious distemper was arisen in Egypt, and made men's bodies impure, Bocchoris their king went to the oracle of [Jupiter] Hammon, and begged he would grant him some relief against this evil, and that he was enjoined to purge his nation of them, and to banish this kind of men into other countries as hateful to the gods§. That when he had sought for, and gotten them all together, they were left in a vast desert: that hereupon the rest devoted themselves to weeping and inactivity; but one of those exiles, *Moses* by name, advised them to look for no assistance from any of the gods, or from any of mankind; since they had been abandoned by both, but

* Most of these stories are so entirely groundless, and so contradictory to one another, that they do not deserve a serious confutation. It is strange Tacitus could persuade himself thus crudely to set them down.

† One would wonder how Tacitus, or any heathen, could suppose the African Ethiopians under Cepheus, who are known to be Blacks, could be the parents of the Jews, who are known to be Whites.

‡ This account comes nearest the truth, and this Tacitus might have from Josephus, only disguised by himself.

|| This Tacitus might have out of Josephus, Antiq. B. VII. chap. iii. sect. 2. vol. I.

§ Strange doctrine to Josephus! who truly observes on this occasion, that the gods are angry not at bodily imperfections, but at wicked practices, Apion, B. I. sect. 28.

bade them believe in him as in a celestial leader*, by whose help they had already gotten clear of their present miseries. They agreed to it; and though they were unacquainted with every thing, they began their journey at random. But nothing tired them so much as the want of water; and now they laid themselves down on the ground to a great extent, as just ready to perish, when an herd of wild asses came from feeding, and went to a rock overshadowed by a grove of trees. Moses followed them, as conjecturing that there was [thereabouts] some grassy soil, and so he opened large sources of water for them†. That was an ease to them; and when they had journeyed continually ‡ six entire days, on the seventh day they drove out the inhabitants, and obtained those lands wherein their city and temple were dedicated.

CHAP. IV.] As for Moses, in order to secure the nation firmly to himself, he ordained new rites, and such as were contrary to those of other men. All things are with them profane which with us are sacred; and again, those practices are allowed among them which are by us esteemed most abominable‖.

They place the image of that animal in their most holy places, by whose indication it was that they had escaped their wandering condition and their thirst§.

They sacrifice rams by way of reproach to [Jupiter] Hammon. An ox is also sacrificed, which the Egyptians worship under the name of *Apis* ¶.

They abstain from swine's flesh, as a memorial of that miserable destruction which the mange, to which that creature is liable, brought on them, and with which they had been defiled⁎.

That they had endured a long famine they attest still by their frequent fastings+. And that they stole the fruits of the earth we have an argument from the bread of the Jews, which is unleavened=.

It is generally supposed that they rest on the ☞ seventh day, because that day gave them [the first] rest from their labours. Besides which,

* This believing in Moses as in a *celestial leader*, seems a blind confession of Tacitus, that Moses professed to have his laws from God.

† This looks also like a plain confession of Tacitus's, that Moses brought the Jews water out of a rock in great plenty, which he might have from Josephus, Antiq. B. III. ch. 1. sect. 7.

‡ Strange indeed! that 600,000 men, should travel above 200 miles, over the deserts of Arabia, in six days, and conquer Judea the seventh.

‖ This is not true in general, but only so far, that the Israelites were by circumcision and other rites to be kept separate from the wicked and idolatrous nations about them.

§ This strange story contradicts what the same Tacitus will tell us presently, that when Pompey went into the holy of holies he found no image there.

¶ These are only guesses of Tacitus's, or of his heathen authors, but no more.

⁎ Such memorials of what must have been very reproachful, are strangers to the rest of mankind, and without any probability.

+ The Jews had but one solemn fast of old in the whole year, the great day of expiation.

= Unleavened bread was only used at the passover.

☞ It is very strange that Tacitus should not know or confess that the Jews' *seventh day* and *seventh year* of rest, were in memory of the seventh, or Sabbath day's rest, after the six days of creation. Every Jew, as well as every Christian, could have informed him of those matters.

they are idle on every * seventh year, as being pleased with a lazy life. Others say, that they do honour thereby to † Saturn; or perhaps the Idæi gave them this part of their religion, who [as we said above] were expelled, together with Saturn, and who, as we have been informed, were the founders of this nation; or else it was because the star Saturn moves in the highest orb, and of the seven planets exerts the principal part of that energy whereby mankind are governed: and indeed most of the heavenly bodies exert their power, and perform their courses according to the number seven‡.

CHAP. V.] These rites, by what manner soever they were first begun, are supported by their antiquity||. The rest of their institutions are § awkward, impure, and got ground by their pravity: For every vile fellow, despising the rites of his forefathers, brought thither their tribute and contributions, by which means the Jewish commonwealth was augmented. And because among themselves there is an unalterable fidelity and kindness always ready at hand, but bitter enmity towards all others¶; they are a people separated from others in their food, and in their beds, though they be the lewdest nation upon earth, yet will they not corrupt foreign women⁎, though nothing be esteemed unlawful among themselves+.

They have ordained circumcision of the part used in generation, that they may thereby be distinguished from other people: the = proselytes to their religion have the same usage.

They are taught nothing sooner than to despise the gods, to renounce their country, and to have their parents, children, and brethren in the utmost contempt⇜: but still they take care to increase and multiply, for it is esteemed utterly unlawful to kill any of their children.

They also look on the souls of those that die in battle, or are put to death for their crimes as eternal. Hence comes their love of posterity, and contempt of death.

* A strange hypothesis of the origin of the sabbatic year, and without all good foundation. Tacitus probably had never heard of the Jews' *year of jubilee;* so he says nothing of it.

† As if the Jews in the days of Moses, or long before, knew that the Greeks and Romans would long afterward call the seventh day of the week *Saturn's day;* which Dio observes was not so called of old time: And it is a question whether before the Jews fell into idolatry, they ever heard of such a star, or god as Saturn. Amos v. 25. Acts vii. 43.

‡ That the sun, moon, and stars, rule over the affairs of mankind, was an heathen, and not a Jewish notion; neither Jews nor Christians were permitted to deal in astrology, though Tacitus seems to have been deep in it.

|| This acknowledgment of the antiquity of Moses, and of his Jewish settlement was what the heathen cared not always to own.

§ What these pretended awkward and impure institutions were, Tacitus does not inform us.

¶ Josephus shews the contrary, as to the laws of Moses, *contra.* Apion, Book II. sect. 22

⁎ An high, and I doubt a false commendation of the Jews.

+ An entirely false character, and contrary to their many laws against uncleanness. See Josephus Antiq. B. III. ch. xi. sect. 12.

= The proselytes of justice only, not the proselytes of the gates.

⇜ How does this agree with that unalterable fidelity and kindness which Tacitus told us the Jews had towards one another? unless he only means that they preferred the divine commands before their nearest relations, which is the highest degree of Jewish and Christian piety.

They derive their * custom of burying, instead of burning their dead, from the Egyptians; they have also the same care of the dead with them, and the same persuasion about the invisible world below; But of the gods above, their opinion is contrary to theirs. The Egyptians worship abundance of animals, and images of various sorts.

The Jews have no notion of any more than one divine being†, and that known only by the mind. They esteem such to be profane who frame images of gods, out of perishable matter, and in the shape of men. That this being is supreme, and eternal, immutable, and unperishable, is their doctrine. Accordingly, they have no images in their cities, much less in their temples: they never grant this piece of flattery to kings, or this kind of honour to emperors‡. But because their priests, when they play on the pipe and the timbrels, wear ivy round their head, and a golden || vine has been found in their temple, some have thought that they worshipped our father Bacchus, the conqueror of the East; whereas the ceremonies of the Jews do not at all agree with those of Bacchus, for he appointed rites that were of a jovial nature, and fit for festivals, while the practices of the Jews are absurd and sordid.

Chap. VI.] The limits of Judea easterly are bounded by Arabia: Egypt lies on the south: on the west are Phenicia and the [great] sea. They have a prospect of Syria, on their north quarter, as at some distance from them§.

The bodies of the men are healthy, and such as will bear great labours.

They have not many showers of rain: their soil is very fruitful; the produce of their land is like ours, in great plenty¶.

They have also, besides ours, two trees peculiar to themselves, the balsam tree, and the palm tree. Their groves of palms are tall and beautiful. The balsam tree is not very large. As soon as any branch is swelled, the veins quake as for fear, if you bring an iron knife to cut them. They are to be opened with the broken piece of a stone, or with the shell of a fish. The juice is useful in physic.

Libanus is their principal mountain, and is very high, and yet, what is very strange to be related, it is always shadowed with trees, and never free from snow. The same mountain supplies the river Jordan with wa-

* This custom is at least as old among the Hebrews as the days of Abraham and the cave of Machpelah, long before the Israelites went into Egypt, Gen. xxiii. 1—20. and xxv. 8—10.

† These are very valuable confessions which Tacitus here makes as to the unspotted piety of the Jewish nation, in the worship of one infinite, invisible God, and absolute rejection of all idolatry, and of all worship of images: nay, of the image of the emperor Caius himself, or of affording it a place in their temple.

‡ All these concessions were to be learned from Josephus, and almost only from him; out of whom therefore I conclude Tacitus took the finest part of his character of the Jews.

|| This particular fact, that there was a golden vine in the front of the Jewish temple, was in all probability taken by Tacitus out of Josephus; but as the Jewish priests were never adorned with ivy, the signal of Bacchus, how Tacitus came to imagine this, I cannot tell.

§ See the chorography of Judea in Josephus, of the War, B. III. sect. 3. vol. IV. whence most probably Tacitus framed this short abridgment of it. It comes in both author's naturally before Vespasian's first campaign.

¶ The latter branch of this Tacitus might have from Josephus, of the War, B. III. ch. iii. sect. 2, 3, 4. vol. IV. the other is not in the present copies.

ter, and affords it its fountains also. Nor is this Jordan carried into the sea, it passes through one and a second lake, undiminished, but it is stopped by the third*.

This third lake is vastly great in circumference, as if it were a sea†. It is of an ill taste, and is pernicious to the adjoining inhabitants, by its strong smell. The wind raises no waves there, nor will it maintain either fishes, or such birds as use the water. The reason is uncertain, but the fact is thus, that bodies cast into it are borne up as by somewhat solid. Those who can, and those who cannot swim, are equally borne up by it‡. At a certain time of the || year it casts out bitumen; the manner of gathering it, like other arts, has been taught by experience. The liquor is of its own nature of a black colour; and, if you pour vinegar upon it, it clings together, and swims upon the top. Those whose business it is, take it into their hands, and pull it into the upper parts of the ship, after which it follows, without farther attraction, and fills the ship full, till you cut it off: nor can you cut it off either with a brass or an iron instrument; but it cannot bear the touch of blood, or of a cloth wet with the menstrual purgations of women, as the ancient authors say. But those that are acquainted with the place assure us, that those waves of bitumen are driven along, and by the hand drawn to the shore, and that when they are dried by the warm steams from the earth, and the force of the sun, they are cut in pieces with axes and wedges, as timber and stones are cut in pieces.

Chap. VII.] Not far from this lake are those plains, which are related to have been of old fertile; and to have had many § cities full of people, but to have been burnt up by a stroke of lightning; it is also said, that the footsteps of that destruction still remain, and that the earth itself appears as burnt earth, and has lost its natural fertility; and that as an argument thereof, all the plants that grow of their own accord, or are planted by the hand, whether they arrive at the degree of an herb, or of a flower, or at complete maturity, become black and empty, and, as it were vanish into ashes. As for myself, as I am willing to allow that these once famous cities were burnt by fire from heaven, so would I suppose that the earth is infected with the vapour of the lake, and the spirit [or air] that is over it thereby corrupted, and that by this means the fruits of the earth, both corn, and grapes, rot away, both the soil and the air being equally unwholesome.

The river Belus does also run into the sea of Judea, and the sands that

* These accounts of Jordan, of its fountains derived from Mount Libanus, and of the two lakes it runs through, and its stoppage by the third, are exactly agreeable to Josephus. Of the War, B. III. ch. x. sect. 7, 8.

† No less than 580 furlongs long, and 150 broad, in Josephus, of the War, B. V. ch. viii. sect. 4.

‡ Strabo says, that a man could not sink into the water of this lake so deep as the navel.

|| Josephus never says that this bitumen was cast out at a certain time of the year only, and Strabo says the direct contrary, but Pliny agrees with Tacitus.

§ This is exactly according to Josephus, and must have been taken from him in the place forecited, and that particularly, because it is peculiar to him, so far as I know, in antiquity. The rest thought the cities were in the very same place where now the lake is, but Josephus and Tacitus say they were in its neighbourhood only, which is Mr. Reland's opinion also.

are collected about its mouth, when they mix nitre with them, are melted into glass: this sort of shore is but small, but its sand, for the use of those that carry it off, is inexhaustible.

CHAP. VIII.] A great part of Judea is composed of scattered villages: it also has larger towns: Jerusalem is the capital city of the whole nation. In that city there was a temple of immense wealth; in the first parts that are fortified are the city itself, next it the royal palace. The temple is enclosed in its most inward recesses. A Jew can come no farther than the gates; all but the priests are excluded by their threshold. While the East was under the dominion of the Assyrians, the Medes, and the Persians, the Jews were of all slaves the most despicable*.

† After the dominion of the Macedonians prevailed, King Antiochus tried to conquer their superstition, and to introduce the customs of the Greeks; but he was disappointed of his design, which was to give this most profligate nation a change for the better, and that was by his war with the Parthians, for at this time Arsaces had fallen off [from the Macedonians.] Then it was that the Jews set kings over them, because the Macedonians were become weak, the Parthians were not yet very powerful, and the Romans were very remote: which kings, when they had been expelled by the mobility of the vulgar, and had recovered their dominion by war, attempted the same things that kings used to do, I mean they introduced the destruction of cities, the slaughter of brethren, of wives, and parents, but still went on in their superstition; for they took upon them withal the honourable dignity of the high priesthood, as a firm security to their power and authority.

CHAP. IX.] The first of the Romans that conquered the Jews was Cneius Pompeius, who entered the temple by right of victory. Thence the report was every where divulged, that therein was no image of a god, but an empty place, and mysteries, most secret places that have nothing in them. The walls of Jerusalem were then destroyed, but the temple continued still. Soon afterward arose a civil war among us; and when therein these provinces were reduced under Marcus Antonius, Pacorus, king of the Parthians, got possession of Judea, but was himself slain by Paulus Ventidius, and the Parthians were driven beyond Euphrates: and for the Jews, Cais Sosius subdued them. Antonius gave the kingdom to Herod: and when Augustus conquered Antonius he still augmented it.

After Herod's death, one *Simon*, without waiting for the disposition of Cæsar, took upon him the title of *King*, who was brought to punishment by [or under] Quintilius Varus, when he was president of Syria. Afterward the nation was reduced, and the children of Herod governed it in three partitions.

Under Tiberius, the Jews had rest. After some time they were enjoined to place Caius Cæsar's statue in the temple; but rather than permit that, they took up arms‡; which sedition was put an end to by the death of Cæsar.

* A great slander against the Jews, without any just foundation. Josephus would have informed him better.

† Here begins Josephus's and Tacitus's true accounts of the Jews, preliminary to the last war. See of the War, Proœm. sect. 7.

‡ They came to Petronius, the president of Syria, in vast numbers, but without arms, and as humble supplicants only. See Tacitus presently, where he afterwards sets this

Claudius, after the kings were either dead, or reduced to smaller dominions, gave the province of Judea to Roman knights, or to freed men, to be governed by them. Among whom was Antonius Felix, one that exercised all kind of barbarity and extravagance, as if he had royal authority, but with the disposition of a slave. He had married Drusilla, the grand-daughter of Antonius, so that Felix was the grand-daughter's husband, and Claudius the grandson of the same Antonius.

ANNAL. Book XII.

But he that was the brother of Pallas, whose surname was Felix, did not act with the same moderation [as did Pallas himself.] He had been a good while ago set over Judea, and thought he might be guilty of all sorts of wickedness with impunity, while he relied on so sure an authority.

The Jews had almost given a specimen of sedition; and even after the death of Caius was known, and they had not obeyed his command, there remained a degree of fear, lest some future prince should renew that command, [for the setting up the prince's statue in their temple.] And in the mean time Felix, by the use of unseasonable remedies, blew up the coals of sedition into a flame, and was imitated by his partner in the government, Ventidius Cumanus, the country being thus divided between them, that the nation of the Galileans were under Cumanus, and the Samaritans under Felix: which two nations were of old at variance, but now, out of contempt of their governors did less restrain their hatred: they then began to plunder one another, to send in parties of robbers, to lie in wait, and sometimes to fight battles, and withal to bring spoils and prey to the procurators, [Cumanus and Felix.] Whereupon these procurators began to rejoice: yet when the mischief grew considerable, soldiers were sent to quiet them, but the soldiers were killed; and the province had been in the flame of war, had not Quadratus, the president of Syria, afforded his assistance. Nor was it long in dispute whether the Jews, who had killed the soldiers in the mutiny, should be put to death: It was agreed they should die; only Cumanus and Felix occasioned a delay, for Claudius, upon hearing the causes as to this rebellion, had given [Quadratus] authority to determine the case, even as to the procurators themselves: But Quadratus shewed Felix among the judges, and took him into his seat of judgment, on purpose that he might discourage his accusers. So Cumanus was condemned for those flagitious actions, of which both he and Felix had been guilty, and peace was restored to the province*.

HISTOR. Book V. Chap. X.

However the Jews had patience till Gessius Florus was made procurator. Under him it was that the war began. Then Cestius Gallus, the president of Syria, attempted to appease it, and tried several battles, but generally with ill success.

matter almost right, according to Josephus, and by way of correction, for that account is in his annals, which were written after this which is in his histories.

* Here seems to be a great mistake about the Jewish affairs in Tacitus. See of the War, B. II. ch. xii. sect. 8.

Upon his death*, whether it came by fate, or that he was weary of his life, is uncertain. Vespasian had the fortune, by his reputation, and excellent officers, and a victorious army, in the space of two summers, to make himself master of all the open country, and of all the cities, Jerusalem excepted.

[Flavius Vespasianus, whom Nero had chosen for his general, managed the Jewish war with three legions. Histor. B. I. chap. 10.]

The next year, which was employed in a civil war [at home,] so far as the Jews were concerned, passed over in peace. When Italy was pacified, the care of foreign parts was revived. The Jews were the only people that stood out, which increased the rage [of the Romans.] It was also thought most proper that Titus should stay with the army, to prevent any accident or misfortune which the new government might be liable to.

[Vespasian had put an end to the Jewish nation: the siege of Jerusalem was the only enterprise remaining, which was a work hard and difficult, but rather from the nature of the mountain, and the obstinacy of the Jewish superstition, than because the besieged had strength enough to undergo the distresses [of a siege.] We have already informed [the reader] that Vespasian had with him three legions, well exercised in war. Histor. Book II. chap. 5.]

When Vespasian was a very young man, it was promised him that he should arrive at the highest pitch of fame: but what did first of all seem to confirm the omen, was his triumphs, and consulship, and the glories of his victories over the Jews. When he had once obtained these, he believed it was portended that he should come to the empire†.

There is between Judea and Syria a mountain and a god, both called by the same name of *Carmel*, though our predecessors have informed us that this god had no image, and no temple, and indeed no more than an altar and solemn worship. Vespasian was once offering a sacrifice there, at a time when he had some secret thought in his mind: The priest, whose name was *Basilides*, when he over and over looked at the entrails, said, Vespasian, whatever thou art about, whether the building of thy house, or enlargement of thy lands, or augmentation of thy slaves, thou art granted a mighty seat, very large bounds, an huge number of men. These doubtful answers were soon spread about by fame, and at this time were explained: nor was any thing so much in public vogue, and very many discourses of that nature were made before him, and the more because they foretold what he expected.

Mucianus and Vespasianus went away, having fully agreed on their designs: the former to Antioch, the latter to Cæsarea. Antioch is the capital of Syria, and Cæsarea the capital of Judea. The commencement of Vespasian's advancement to the empire was at Alexandria, where Tiberius Alexander made such haste, that he obliged the legions to take the oath of fidelity to him on the calends of July, which was ever after

* Josephus says nothing of the death of Cestius; so Tacitus seems to have known nothing in particular about it.

† Josephus takes notice in general of these many omens of Vespasian's advancement to the empire, and distinctly adds his own remarkable prediction of it also. Antiq. B. V. ch. viii. sect. 3, 9.

celebrated as the day of his inauguration*, although the army in Judea had taken that oath on the fifth of the nones of July, with that eagerness that they would not stay for his son Titus, who was then on the road, returning out of Syria, chap. 79. Vespasian delivered over the strongest part of his forces to Titus, to enable him to finish what remained of the Jewish war. Hist. Book IV. chap. 51.

During these months in which Vespasian continued at Alexandria, waiting for the usual set time of the summer gales of wind, and stayed for settled fair weather at sea, many miraculous events happened, by which the good will of heaven, and a kind of inclination of the Deity in his favour was declared.

A certain man of the vulgar sort at Alexandria, well known for the decay of his eyes, kneeled down by him and groaned, and begged of him the cure of his blindness, as by the admonition of Serapis, that god which this superstitious nation worships above others. He also desired that the Emperor would be pleased to put some of his spittle upon the balls of his eyes. Another infirm man there, who was lame of his hand, prayed Cæsar, as by the same god's suggestion, to tread upon him with his foot. Vespasian at first began to laugh at them, and to reject them, and when they were instant with him, he sometimes feared he should have the reputation of a vain person, and sometimes upon the solicitation of the infirm, he flattered himself, and others flattered him with the hopes of succeeding. At last he ordered the physicians to give their opinion, whether this sort of blindness and lameness were curable by the art of man or not? The physicians answered uncertainly, that the one had not his visual faculty utterly destroyed, and that it might be restored, if the obstacles were removed: that the other's limbs were disordered, but if an healing virtue were made use of, they were capable of being made whole. Perhaps, said they, the gods are willing to assist, and that the Emperor is chosen by divine interposition: However, they said at last, that if the cures succeeded, Cæsar would have the glory, if not, the poor miserable objects would only be laughed at. Whereupon Vespasian imagined, that his good fortune would be universal, and that nothing on that account could be incredible, so he looked cheerfully, and in the sight of the multitude, who stood in great expectation, he did what they desired him: upon which the lame hand was recovered, and the blind man saw immediately. Both these † cures are related to this day by those that were present, and when speaking falsely will get no reward.

* This *although* seems to imply that Vespasian was proclaimed emperor in Judea before he was so proclaimed at Alexandria, as the whole history of Josephus implies, and the place where now Vespasian was, being no other than Judea, requires also, though the inauguration day might be celebrated afterward from his first proclamation at the great city of Alexandria, only then the nones and ides in Tacitus and Suetonius must be of June, and not of July.

† The miraculous cures done by Vespasian are attested to both by Suetonius in Vespasian, sect 7. and by Dio, p. 217. and seem to me well attested. Our Saviour seems to have over-ruled the heathen oracle of Serapis to procure the divine approbation of Vespasian's advancement to the empire of Rome, as he suggested the like approbation to the advancement both of Vespasian and Titus to Josephus, which two were to be his chosen instruments in bringing on that terrible destruction upon the Jewish nation, which he had threatened to execute by these Roman armies. Nor could any other generals than Vespasian and Titus, at that time, in human probability, have prevailed over the Jews,

Book V. Chap. I.

At the beginning of the same year, Titus Cæsar, who was pitched upon by his father to finish the conquest of Judea, and while both he and his father were private persons, was celebrated for his martial conduct, acted now with greater vigour, and hopes of reputation, the kind inclinations both of the provinces and of the armies striving one with another who should most encourage him. He was also himself in a disposition to shew that he was more than equal to his fortune; and when he appeared in arms, he did all things after such a ready and graceful way, treating all after such an affable manner, and with such kind words, as invited the good-will and good-wishes of all. He appeared also in his actions and in his place in the troops; he mixed with the common soldiers, yet without any stain to his honour as a general*. He was received in Judea by three legions, the fifth, and the tenth, and the fifteenth, who were Vespasian's old soldiers. Syria also afforded him the twelfth, and Alexandria soldiers out of the twenty-second and twenty-third legions. Twenty † cohorts of auxiliaries accompanied, as also eight troops of horse.

King Agrippa also was there, and king Sohemus, and the auxiliaries of king Antiochus, and a strong body of Arabians, who, as is usual in nations that are neighbours to one another, went with their accustomed hatred against the Jews, with many others out of the city of Rome, as every one's hopes led him of getting early into the general's favour, before others should prevent them.

He entered into the borders of the enemies' country with these forces, in exact order of war; and looking carefully about him, and being ready for battle, he pitched his camp not far from Jerusalem.

Chap. X.] When therefore he had pitched his camp, as we said just now, before the walls of Jerusalem, he pompously ‡ shewed his legions ready for an engagement.

Chap. XI.] The Jews formed their camp under the very || walls [of the city;] and if they succeeded, they resolved to venture farther, but if they were beaten back, that was their place of refuge. When a body of § cavalry were sent against them, and with them cohorts, that were expedite and nimble, the fight was doubtful; but soon afterwards the enemies gave ground, and on the following days there were frequent skirmishes before the gates, till after many losses they were driven into

and destroyed Jerusalem, as this whole history in Josephus implies. Josephus also every where supposes Vespasian and Titus raised up to command against Judea and Jerusalem, and to govern the Roman empire by divine Providence, and not in the ordinary way: as also, he always supposes this destruction a divine judgment on the Jews for their sins.

* This character of Titus agrees exactly with the history of Josephus upon all occasions.

† These 20 cohorts, and 8 troops of horse, are not directly enumerated by Josephus, Of the War, B. V. ch. i. sect. 6.

‡ This word in Tacitus *pompously shewed* his legions, looks as if that pompous shew which was some months afterward, in Josephus, ran in his mind, Of the War, B. V. ch. ix. sect. 1.

|| These first bickerings and battles near the walls of Jerusalem, are at large in Josephus, Of the War, B. V. ch. ii.

§ Josephus distinctly mentions these horsemen or cavalry, 600 in number, among whom Titus had like to have been slain or taken prisoner, Of the War, B. V. ch. xii. sect. 1, 2, 3.

the city. The Romans then betook themselves to the siege, for it did not seem honourable to stay till the enemies were reduced by famine*. The soldiers were very eager to expose themselves to dangers, part of them out of true valour, many out of a brutish fierceness, and out of a desire of rewards.

Titus had Rome, and the riches and pleasures of it, before his eyes; all which seemed to be too long delayed, unless Jerusalem could be soon destroyed.

The † city stood on an high elevation, and it had great works and ramparts to secure it, such as were sufficient for its fortification, had it been on plain ground, for there were two hills, of a vast height, which were inclosed by walls made crooked by art, or [naturally] bending inwards, that they might flank the besiegers, and cast darts on them side-ways. The extreme parts of the rock were craggy, and the towers when they had the advantage of the ground, were 60 feet high: when they were built on the plain ground they were not built lower than 120 feet; they were of uncommon beauty, and to those who looked at them at a great distance, they seemed equal. Other walls there were beneath the royal palace, besides the tower of Antonia, with its top particularly conspicuous. It was called so by Herod, in honour of Marcus Antonius.

Chap. XII.] The temple was like a citadel, having walls of its own, which had more labour and pains bestowed on them than the rest. The cloisters wherewith the temple was inclosed were an excellent fortification.

They had a fountain of water that ran perpetually; and the mountains were hollowed under ground: they had moreover ‡ pools and cisterns for the preservation of the rain water.

They that built this city foresaw, that from the difference of their conduct of life from their neighbours they should have frequent wars; thence it came to pass, that they had provision for a long siege. After Pompey's conquest also their fear and experience had taught them generally what they should want||.

Moreover the covetuous temper that prevailed under Claudius, gave the Jews an opportunity of purchasing for money § leave to fortify Jerusalem; so they built walls in time of peace, as if they were going to war,

* Such a deliberation and resolution, with this very reason, that it would be dishonourable to stay till the Jews were starved out by famine, is in Josephus, Of the War, B. V. ch. xii. sect. 1.

† This description of the city of Jerusalem, its two hills, its three walls, and four towers, &c. are in this place at large in Josephus, Of the War, B. V. ch. iv. See also Pompey's siege, Antiq. B. XIV. ch. iv. sect. 2.

‡ Of these pools, see Josephus, Of the War, B V. ch. xi sect. 4. The cisterns are not mentioned by him here, though they be mentioned by travellers. See Reland's Palestine, tom. I. p. 304.

|| This is Tacitus's or the Romans' own hypothesis, unsupported by Josephus.

§ This sale of leave for the Jews to build the walls of Jerusalem for money, is also Tacitus's or the Romans' own hypothesis, unsupported by Josephus. Nor is Josephus's character of Claudius near so bad, as to other things also, as in Tacitus and Suetonius. Dio says, he was far from covetousness in particular. The others seem to have misrepresented his meek and quiet temper, and learning, but without ambition, and his great kindness to the Jews as the most contemptible folly. See Antiq. B. XIX. ch. iv. sect. 4. He was indeed very much ruled at first by a very bad minister, Pallas; and at last was ruled and poisoned by a very bad wife, Agrippina.

they being augmented in number by those rude multitudes of people that retired thither on the ruin of the other cities, for every obstinate fellow ran away thither, and there became more seditious than before.

There were three captains, and as many armies. Simon had the remotest and largest parts of the walls under him. John, who was also called *Bar Gioras*, [the son of Gioras,] had the middle parts of the city under him: and Eleazar had fortified the temple itself. John and Simon were superior in multitude and strength of arms, Eleazar was superior by his situation, but battles, factions, and burnings, were common to them all: and a great quantity of corn was consumed by fire. After a while, John sent some, who, under the pretence of offering sacrifice, might slay Eleazar, and his body of troops, which they did, and got the temple under their power. So the city was now parted into two factions, until upon the coming of the Romans, this war abroad produced peace between those that were at home.

Chap. XIII.] Such * prodigies had happened, as this nation, which is superstitious enough in its own way, would not agree to expiate by the ceremonies of the Roman religion, nor would they atone the gods by sacrifices and vows, as these used to do on the like occasions. Armies were seen to fight in the sky, and their armour looked of a bright light colour, and the temple shone with sudden flashes of fire out of the clouds. The doors of the temple were opened on a sudden, and a voice greater than human was heard, that the gods were retiring, and at the same time there was a great motion perceived, as if they were going out of it, which some esteemed to be causes of terror. The greater part had a firm belief that it was contained in the old sacerdotal books, that at this very time the east would prevail, and that some that came out of Judea should obtain the empire of the world, which obscure oracle foretold Vespasian and Titus; but the generality of the common people, as usual, indulged their own inclinations, and when they had once interpreted all to forebode grandeur to themselves, adversity itself could not persuade them to change their minds, though it were from falsehood to truth †.

We have been informed, that the number of the besieged, of every age, and of both sexes, male and female, was six hundred thousand ‡. There were weapons for all that could carry them, and more than could be expected, for their number were bold enough to do so. The men and the women were equally obstinate; and when they supposed they were to be carried away captive, they were more afraid of life than of death.

Against this city and nation Titus Cæsar resolved to fight, by ramparts and ditches, since the situation of the place did not admit of taking it by storm or surprize. He parted the duty among the legions: and there were no farther engagements, until whatever had been invented for the taking of cities by the ancients, or by the ingenuity of the moderns, was got ready.

* These prodigies, and more, are at large in Josephus, Of the War, B. VI. ch. v. sect. 3.

† These interpretations and reflections are in Josephus, Of the War, B. VI. ch. v. sect. 4. vol. 4.

‡ The number 600,000 for the besieged is no where in Josephus, but is there for the poor buried at the public charge, Of the War, B. V. ch. xiii. sect. 7. which might be about the number of the besieged, under Cestius Gallus, though there were many more afterward at Titus's siege, as Josephus implies, Of the War, B. VI. ch. ix. sect. 3.

Annal. Book V.

Nero, in order to stifle the rumour [as if himself had set Rome on fire,] ascribed it to those people who were hated for their wicked practices, and called by the vulgar *Christians:* these he punished exquisitely. The author of this name was *Christ*, who in the reign of Tiberius was brought to punishment by Pontius Pilate, the procurator*. For the present this pernicious superstition was in part suppressed, but it brake out again, not only over Judea, whence this mischief first sprang, but in the city of Rome also, whither do run from every quarter and make a noise, all the flagrant and shameful enormities. At first, therefore, those were seized who confessed, afterward a vast multitude were detected by them, and were convicted; not so much as really guilty of setting the city on fire, but as hating all mankind; nay, they made a mock of them as they perished, and destroyed them by putting them into the skins of wild beasts, and setting dogs upon them to tear them to pieces: Some were nailed to crosses, and others flamed to death: they were also used in the night time instead of torches, for illumination. Nero had offered his own garden for this spectacle. He also gave them Circensian games, and dressed himself like the driver of a chariot, sometimes appearing among the common people, sometimes in the circle itself: whence a commisseration arose, though the punishments were levelled at guilty persons, and such as deserved to be made the most flagrant examples, as if these people were destroyed, not for the public advantage, but to satisfy the barbarous humour of one man.

N. B. Since I have set down all the vile calumnies of Tacitus upon the Christians as well as the Jews, it will be proper, before I come to my observations, to set down two heathen records in their favour, and those hardly inferior in antiquity, and of much greater authority than Tacitus, I mean Pliny's epistle to Trajan, when he was proconsul of Bythinia, with Trajan's answer or rescript to Pliny, cited by Tertullian, Eusebius, and Jerome. These are records of so great esteem with Havercamp, the last editor of Josephus, that he thinks they not only deserve to be *read*, but almost to be *learned by heart* also.

Pliny's Epistle *to* Trajan,

About A. D. 112.

Sir, It is my constant method to apply myself to you for the resolution of all my doubts; for who can better govern my dilatory way of proceeding, or instruct my ignorance? I have never been present at the examination of the Christians [by others], on which account I am unacquainted with what uses to be inquired into, and what, and how far they use to be punished: Nor are my doubts small, whether there be not a distinction to be made between the ages [of the accused], and whether tender youth ought to have the same punishment with strong men? whether there be not room for pardon upon repentance†? or whether it may not be an advantage to one that had been a

* This passage seems to have been taken directly from Josephus's famous testimony concerning Christ, and the Christians, Antiq. B. XVIII. ch. iii. vol. III. of which Dissertation I. before.

† Till now it seems repentance was not commonly allowed those that had been once

Christian, that he hath forsaken Christianity? whether the bare name*, without any crimes besides, or the crimes adhering to that name, be to be punished? In the mean time, I have taken this course about those who have been brought before me as Christians. I asked them whether they were Christians or not? If they confessed that they were Christians, I asked them again, and a third time, intermixing threatenings with the questions: If they persevered in their confession, I ordered them to be executed†; for I did not doubt but, let their confession be of any sort whatsoever, this positiveness and inflexible obstinacy deserved to be punished. There have been some of this mad sect whom I took notice of in particular as Roman citizens, that they might be sent to that city‡. After some time, as is usual in such examinations, the crime spread itself, and many more cases came before me. A libel was sent to me, though without an author, containing many names [of persons accused]. These denied that they were Christians now, or ever had been. They called upon the gods; and supplicated to your ‖ image, which I caused to be brought to me for that purpose, with frankincense and wine: they also § cursed Christ: None of which things, as it is said, can any of those that are really Christians be compelled to do; so I thought fit to let them go. Others of them that were named in the libel, said they were Christians, but presently denied it again, that indeed they had been Christians, but had ceased to be so, some three years, some many more; and one there was that said, he had not been so these twenty years. All these worshipped your image, and the images of your gods: these also cursed Christ. However, they assured me, that the main of their fault, or of their mistake, was this, that they were wont, on a stated day, to meet together before it was light, and to sing an hymn to Christ, as to a god, alternately: and to oblige themselves by a sacrament [or oath], not to do any thing that was ill, but that they would commit no theft, or pilfering, or adultery; that they would not break their promises, or deny what was deposited with them, when it was required back again: After which it was their custom to depart, and to meet again at a common but innocent ¶ meal, which yet they had left off upon that edict which I published at your command, and wherein I had forbidden any such con-

Christians, but though they recanted and returned to idolatry, yet were they commonly put to death. This was persecution in perfection!

* This was the just and heavy complaint of the ancient Christians, that they commonly suffered for that bare *name*, without the pretence of any crimes they could plead against them. This was also persecution in perfection!

† Amazing doctrine! that a firm and fixed resolution of keeping a good conscience should be thought without dispute to deserve death, and this by such comparatively excellent heathens as Pliny and Trajan.

‡ This was the case of St. Paul, who being a citizen of Rome was allowed to *appeal unto Cæsar*, and was *sent to Rome* accordingly, Acts xxii. 25—29. xxv. 25. xxvi. 32. xxvii.

‖ Amazing stupidity! that the Emperor's image, even while he was alive, should be allowed capable of divine worship, even by such comparatively excellent heathens as Pliny and Trajan.

§ Take here a parallel account out of the martyrdom of Polycarp, § 9. The proconsul said, "Reproach Christ." Polycarp replied, "Eighty and six years have I now served Christ, and he has never done me the least wrong, how then can I blaspheme my King and my Saviour?"

¶ This must most probably be the *feast of charity*.

venticles. These examinations made me think it necessary to inquire by torments what the truth was, which I did of two servant maids, which were called *deaconesses;* but still I discovered no more, than that they were addicted to a bad and to an extravagant superstition. Hereupon I have put off any farther examinations, and have recourse to you, for the affair seems to be well worth consultation, especially on account of the * number of those that are in danger; for there are many of every age, of every rank, and of both sexes, which are now and hereafter likely to be called to account, and to be in danger, for this superstition is spread like a contagion, not only in cities and towns, but into country villages also, which yet there is reason to hope may be stopped, and corrected. To be sure, the temples, which were almost forsaken, begin already to be frequented: and the holy solemnities, which were long intermitted, begin to be revived. The sacrifices begin to sell well every where, of which very few purchasers had of late appeared: whereby it is easy to suppose how great a multitude of men might be amended, if place for repentance be admitted.

Trajan's Epistle *to* Pliny.

My Pliny, you have taken the method which you ought in examining the causes of those that had been accused as Christians, for indeed no certain and general form of judging can be ordained in this case. These people are not to be sought for; but if they be accused, and convicted, they are to be punished, but with this caution, that he who denies himself to be a Christian, and makes it plain that he is not so by supplicating to our gods, although he had been so formerly, may be allowed pardon upon his repentance. As for libels sent without an author, they ought to have no place in any accusation whatsoever, for that would be a thing of very ill example, and not agreeable to my reign.

OBSERVATIONS *upon the Passages taken out of* Tacitus.

I. We see here what a great regard the best of the Roman historians of that age, Tacitus, had to the history of Josephus, while, though he never names him, as he very rarely names any of those Roman authors whence he derives other parts of his history, yet does it appear that he refers to his seven books of the Jewish Wars several times in a very few pages, and almost always depends on his accounts of the affairs of the Romans and Parthians, as well as of the Jews, during no fewer than 240 years, to which these books extend.

II. Yet does it appear that when he now and then followed other historians or reports concerning the Romans, the Parthians, or the Jews, during that long interval, he was commonly mistaken in them, and had better have kept close to Josephus than hearken to any of his other authors or informers.

III. It also appears highly probable that Tacitus had seen the antiquities of Josephus, and knew that the most part of the accounts he produced of the origin of the Jewish nation entirely contradicted those

* Some of late are very loath to believe that the Christians were numerous in the second century, but this is such an evidence that they were very numerous at least in Bithynia, even in the beginning of that century, as is wholly undeniable.

antiquities. He also could hardly avoid seeing that those accounts contradicted one another also, and were childish, absurd, and supported by no good evidence whatsoever: as also he could hardly avoid seeing that Josephus's accounts in these antiquities were authentic, substantial, and thoroughly attested to by the ancient records of that nation, and of the neighbouring nations also, which indeed no one can avoid seeing, that carefully peruses and considers them.

IV. Tacitus, therefore, in concealing the greatest part of the true ancient history of the Jewish nation; which lay before him in Josephus, and producing such fabulous, ill-grounded, and partial histories, which he had from the heathens, acted a most unfair part: and this procedure of his is here the more gross, in regard he professed such great impartiality. Hist. B. I. ch. i. and is allowed to have observed that impartiality in the Roman affairs also.

V. Tacitus's hatred and contempt of God's peculiar people, the Jews, and his attachment to the grossest idolatry, superstition, and astral fatality of the Romans, were therefore so strong in him, as to overbear all restraints of sober reason and equity in the case of those Jews, though he be allowed so exactly to have followed them on other occasions relating to the Romans.

VI. Since therefore Tacitus was so bitter against the Jews, and since he knew that Christ was a Jew himself, and that his apostles and first followers were Jews; and also knew that the Christian religion was derived into the Roman provinces from Judea, it is no wonder that his hatred and contempt of the Jews extended itself to the Christians also, whom the Romans usually confounded with the Jews: as therefore his hard words of the Jews appear to have been generally groundless, and hurt his own reputation, instead of theirs, so ought we to esteem his alike hard words of the Christians to be blots upon his own character, and not upon theirs.

VII. Since therefore Tacitus, soon after the publication of Josephus's antiquities, and in contradiction to them, was determined to produce such idle stories about the Jews, and since one of those idle stories is much the same with that published in Josephus, against Apion, from Manetho and Lysimachus, and no where else met with so fully in all antiquity, it is most probable that those antiquities of Josephus were the very occasion of Tacitus giving us these stories, as we know from Josephus himself, *contr.* Apion, B. I. § 1. that the same antiquities, were the very occasion of Apion's publication of his equally scandalous stories about them, and which Josephus so thoroughly confuted, in these two books written against him. And if Tacitus, as I suppose, had also read these two books, his procedure in publishing such stories, after he had seen so thorough a confutation of them, was still more highly criminal. Nor will Tacitus's fault be much less, though we suppose he neither saw the antiquities nor the books against Apion, because it was very easy for him, then at Rome, to have had more authentic accounts of the origin of the Jewish nation, and of the nature of the Jewish and Christian religions, from the Jews and Christians themselves, which he owns were very numerous there in his days; so that his publication of such idle stories is still utterly inexcusable.

VIII. It is therefore very plain, after all, that notwithstanding the

encomiums of several of our learned critics upon Tacitus, and hard suspicions upon Josephus, that all the (involuntary) mistakes of Josephus, in all his large works put together, their *quality*, as well as *quantity* considered, do not amount to near so great a sum, as do these gross errors and misrepresentations of Tacitus' about the Jews amount to in a very few pages, so little reason have some of our later and lesser critics to prefer the Greek and Roman historians and writers to the Jewish, and particularly to Josephus. Such later and lesser critics should have learned more judgment and modesty from their great father Joseph Scaliger, when, as we have seen, after all his deeper inquiries, he solemnly pronounces, *De Emend. Temp. Prolegom.* p. 17. That "Josephus was the most diligent and the greatest lover of truth of all writers;" and is not afraid to affirm, That, "it is more safe to believe him, not only as to the affairs of the Jews, but also to those that are foreign to them, than all the Greek and Latin writers, and this because his fidelity and compass of learning are every where conspicuous."

TABLE *of the* JEWISH WEIGHTS *and* MEASURES, *particularly of those mentioned in* JOSEPHUS'S WORKS.

Of the JEWISH *Measures of* LENGTH.

	Inches.	*Feet.*	*Inches.*
Cubit, the standard,	21	1	9
Zereth or large span,	10½	0	0
Small span,	7	0	0
Palm or hand's breadth,	3½	0	0
Inch or thumb's breadth,	1.16	0	0
Digit or finger's breadth,	.875	0	0
Orgyia or fathom,	84	7	0
Ezekiel's Canneh or reed,	126	10	6
Arabian Cannah or pole,	168	14	0
Schænus line, or chain,	1680	140	0
Sabbath-day's journey,	42000	3500	0
Jewish mile,	84000	7000	0
Stadium or furlong,	8400	700	0
Parasang,	252000	21000	0

Of the JEWISH *Measures of* CAPACITY.

	Cub. Inches.	*Pints or Pounds.*
Bath or Epha,	807.274	27.83
Corus or Chomer,	8072.74	278.3
Seah or Saton,	269.091	9.266
Ditto according to Josephus,	828.28	28.3
Hin,	134.54	4.4633
		28

	Cub. Inches.	Pints or Pounds.
Hin according to Josephus,	414.12	14.3
Omer or Asseron,	80.727	2.78
Cab,	44.859	1.544
Log,	11.21	.39
Metretes or Syrian firkin,	207	7.125

Of the Jewish Weights *and* Coins.

	£.	s.	d.
Stater, Silus, or shekel of the sanctuary, the standard,	0	2	6
Tyrian Coin, equal to the shekel,	0	2	6
Bekah, half of the shekel,	0	2	3
Drachma Attica, one fourth,	0	0	7½
Drachma Alexandrina, or Darchmon, or Adarchmon, one-half,	0	1	3
Gerah, or Obulus, one-twentieth,	0	0	1½
Maneh, Mna—100 shekels in weight—21900 grains Troy.			
Maneh, Mna, or Mina, as a coin,—60 shekels,	7	10	0
Talent of silver,—300 shekels,	375	0	0
Drachma of gold, not more than	0	1	1
Shekel of gold, not more than	0	4	4
Daric of gold,	1	0	4
Talent of gold, not more than	648	0	0

TABLE *of the* Jewish Months *in Josephus and others, with the Syro-Macedonian names Josephus gives them, and the names of the Julian or Roman Months corresponding to them.*

Hebrew Names.	*Syro-Macedonian Names.*	*Roman Names.*
(1.) Nisan	Xanthicus	March and April
(2.) Jyar	Artemesius	April and May
(3.) Sivan	Dæsius	May and June
(4.) Tamuz	Panemus	June and July
(5.) Ab	Lous	July and August
(6.) Elul	Gorpiæus	August and September
(7.) Tisri	Hyperberetæus	September and October
(8.) Marhesvan	Dius	October and November
(9.) Casleu	Appellæus	November and December
(10.) Tebeth	Audinæus	December and January
(11.) Shebat	Peritius	January and February
(12.) Adar	Dystrus	February and March.
( ) Ve Adar, or The second Adar interculated.		

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